

THE · GREAT · CRIME · AND ITS MORAL ·

J · SELDEN · WILLMORE



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**THE GREAT CRIME
AND ITS MORAL**

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THE GREAT CRIME AND ITS MORAL

BY
J. SELDEN WILLMORE

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS
OF

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“Κρείσσων γὰρ ἐπαινετὸς πόλεμος εἰρήνης χωριζούσης Θεοῦ.”

(For better is a praiseworthy war than a peace which separates from God.)

GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS.

PREFACE

THE principal features of the Great Crime have been already separately recorded and developed in books and pamphlets without number and in many languages. In the following pages the various counts of the indictment are set out in the form of a short but connected narrative, and, that the story may carry the greater conviction, the details which compose it have been described, wherever possible, in the words of neutrals and of Germans themselves, the references to whose writings will serve as a guide to readers desiring a closer insight into any particular incident or aspect of the Crime.

We have indeed been at great pains throughout to present the facts in as convincing a form as possible; but in some cases we have not been able to describe them in all their horror because, had we done so, we should have produced a work unfit for general reading and so defeated the object we have in view, which is to give an opportunity to every man, woman and child who has any understanding whatever to realise, once for all, the character of the people who have made war on the world, the motives by which they were actuated in so doing, the appalling nature of the catastrophe which would follow upon the success of their scheme—of their plot against humanity—and the danger of making peace with them before their power for evil is broken.

For, incredible as it must seem to most of us, there are still people who allow themselves to be persuaded that Germany was provoked, that she invaded Belgium in self-defence, that she had no lust for world-domination, that the atrocities have been exaggerated, that it will be wise to make peace with her at the earliest moment.

It will be said that, in speaking of the aggressors as the people of Germany, we ascribe the guilt to the whole nation. We shall perhaps only know, when their arms are defeated, how far the civil population was in sympathy with its rulers—or how far it would have been out of sympathy with them had the true circumstances of the aggression not been hidden from it.

Meanwhile, it is clear that the leading men in the country, the so-called "Intellectuals," have, as a body, adopted the principle that Might is Right and that it is Germany's mission to impose her will—or rather, the will of one man, her Emperor and War-lord—on the whole of this planet.

They have mistaken the times. Engrossed in the contemplation of their war-machinery, they have failed to see that, in the present stage of the evolution of mankind, a new order prevails—that, in fact, Right is Might. The moral forces, the feeling ever present, though at times dormant, in the human mind, that good must prevail over evil and justice over tyranny, that the weak have equal rights with the strong, are more potent to-day than all the hosts of Germany, and they will be her undoing.

The world of to-day does not want the hideous thing called German Kultur. There is no place for it in the civilisation of the twentieth century, and the nations of the earth are determined that it shall not be imposed upon them.

It is this determination which has now brought the great peace-loving people of America "to accept"—in President Wilson's words—"the gage of battle with this natural foe of liberty," and which animates the ten million of her youth who have answered the call to arms.

It is important to observe that the characteristics ¹ of the German people which have been brought so prominently to our notice of late have been associated with them throughout their history—in particular, their treachery

¹Including even some of their tactics in war. Dion Cassius, describing them in battle, says: "Many of them, owing to the closeness of their formation, remained standing even after they were killed."—*Roman History*, xxxviii. 49.

and disregard of treaties. The Roman and Greek historians never tire of alluding to this trait. But it is not only in the barbarian Germans of the Roman period that it is so marked. It appears again and again in each succeeding period. This nation has ever made it a principle only to keep a treaty when it is to its own convenience to do so, a circumstance which cannot be too carefully noted by those who will have to decide by what means it will be possible to ensure a lasting peace. I therefore make no apology for having dealt with it at length in the body of the work.

The Roman general Germanicus believed that the war with Germany could only end with the extermination of the race. He must have realised the gravity of the German danger of his time, which in the beginning took the form of predatory incursions into the Gallic provinces, and in the end had much to do with the downfall of the Empire. There can be no thought of exterminating the race at the present day, but we shall do well to take warning from the comment of the historian Florus: "Breve id gaudium, quippe Germani victi magis quam domiti erant" (*It was a short-lived joy, for the Germans had been conquered rather than subdued*), or Tacitus' lament that they were "triumphati magis quam victi." "It is not impossible," wrote Merivale (*History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. v. p. 51), "that the result of one or two more campaigns at this critical moment might have delayed for a hundred years the eventual overthrow of the Roman Empire."

J. SELDEN WILLMORE.

June, 1917.

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THE GREAT CRIME AND ITS MORAL

I

THE CONCEPTION OF THE PLOT

Two years ago, a writer in a French newspaper likened the conduct of the Prussian troops of the time of Frederick the Great to that of the armies of William II, concluding in the following words:—

“Their insolent bearing towards the French a hundred years ago, exhibited the same *mentalité délirante* of which the German soldiers are giving proof to-day. But directly the disillusionment came at Jena, their valour deserted them and they quickly fell to pieces. And history will repeat itself. The Germans are indomitable as long as they are numerically superior to their enemies, but they are incapable of supporting a reverse.¹ When they have sustained a serious defeat and have been brought face to face with the real situation, their bluster will evaporate as it did in 1806, and with it their energy and power of resistance. An immediate and total collapse will follow, and their old god himself will sound a parley.”²

Already there are signs that their confidence is failing them, as our advance proceeds in the west, and there

¹ “As resourceless in reverse as they are impetuous in success,” says Tacitus of their ancestors (*Annals*, i. 68). “Craven in defeat they respect no law, human or divine, in victory” (*ibid.*, ii. 14).

² *Leur vieux dieu lui-même battra la chamade*. See below, p. 243 *seq.*

arises before their vision the spectre of a mighty force, grown of "disorganised battalions" and "contemptible little armies," marching to crush them in its avenging grasp. A leading article in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* recognised the danger so long ago as October 1916. "On all sides," it wrote, "the ring of our enemies is closing more and more firmly. It is futile to shut our eyes to this. Against us is ranged not only colossal material but immense intellectual and moral force."

The collapse may be postponed, or it may be imminent; it may be unexpectedly hastened by the economic conditions now prevailing in Germany and Austria; in any case it is inevitable. And when it comes, will this nation be ready to do its duty, or shall we be as little prepared for the end of the war as we were for its outbreak? There is a danger that, by that day, some of us will have suffered the memory of the circumstances to which this war owes its origin, and the appalling barbarity with which our enemies have conducted it, to become dimmed, and will be ready to accept a "halting peace," the very peace which Germany is already striving by every means to obtain, namely, conditions which would enable her to recuperate her forces, and prepare for a still more powerful attack upon the rights of man and the freedom of the nations, and an attack which we may well fear would be successful. "After our armies have won the war, our statesmen will have to win the peace, and their task will indeed be difficult unless public opinion is alert, organised, and eager to support them in a clearly-defined and enlightened policy."¹ The present, therefore, is a fitting moment to review the events which brought about the unparalleled carnage of the past years and the rôle which the Central Powers, and in particular, Germany, have played therein from the beginning to the present date.

The war arose, in one word, out of Prussian megalomania, or the mad ambition of a section of the Teutonic race to see the peoples of the earth bow down to Germany. This

¹ *The New Europe*, October 19, 1916.

ambition had been growing for forty years, unheeded by the public of this country, in spite of the warnings uttered from time to time by men who were sufficiently clear-sighted to recognise its true significance. Of one of these, the late Lord Salisbury, Professor Cramb wrote in 1913—

“In this very matter of Germany he foresaw, point by point, her development; at the beginning of his career in one brilliant article after another in our quarterlies, Lord Salisbury, then Lord Robert Cecil, marked out the exact lines which that development took from the Kiel Canal right on to those batteries and ‘Dreadnoughts’ concentrated there in the North Sea, which are already, whether we regard them as such or not, the first conflict between England and Germany. . . . If ever a great warning was given to a people it was contained in those words, in his reference to dying empires and dying nations, to the passing of kingdoms, the vicissitudes of states and the mutation in things; and, above all, in his appeal to Englishmen to arm and prepare themselves for war, for a war which might be on them at any hour and a war for their very existence as a nation and as a race. . . .

“And to the words of the last great Englishman in politics there have been added the message and solemn warning of perhaps the greatest living leader of men in the field of battle . . . Lord Roberts.”¹

For twenty years, as he reminds us, in his *Inner History of German Diplomacy*, Dr. Dillon had been stating his conviction “that Germany’s energies, military, naval, financial, commercial, diplomatic, and journalistic were fixed upon exhaustive preparations for the tremendous struggle to establish Teutonic supremacy in Europe; that that struggle was unavoidable; that the German war machine was in all respects worthy of the money, time and energies that had been spent in creating and perfecting it, and that no European army could compete with it.”² In the *Contemporary Review* of October, 1911,

¹ *Germany and England*, pp. 37, 38, 39.

² *A Scrap of Paper: The Inner History of German Diplomacy*, pp. 50, 51.

he wrote: "The plain truth is in this country we fail utterly to fathom the German psyche, just as in the Fatherland they misunderstand the working of the national British soul. What is meanwhile clear enough is that the peace of Europe is at the mercy of well-armed, restless, ill-balanced Germany; that no section of that gifted and enterprising people differs sufficiently in its mode of thought and feeling from any other section, to warrant our regarding it as a check upon rash impulses or predatory designs; that treaties possess no binding or deterrent force, and that friendly conduct on the part of Great Britain or France has no propitiatory effect. Brute force is the only thing that counts."

The *Hungarian*, Dr. Emil Reich, warned us in 1907: "Infinitely more consonant," he said, "with the dignity, past and future prestige of Great Britain would it be if all men of leading spirit, all preachers, teachers, statesmen, journalists, or thinkers of this country joined in bringing before the nation the necessity of preparations which, if properly made, would indeed retard, or eventually frustrate, any attempt on the part of Germany. To talk of universal military service, even if it is done by Lord Roberts, is hateful to the majority of British citizens. Where the victor in so many battles can carry no conviction, we should be only foolishly presumptuous in trying to convince our readers. The facts of the near future will convince them." ¹

"World domination," wrote the Socialist leader, Mr. Robert Blatchford in 1909, "is the dream of Germany to-day, as it was in bygone days the dream of Babylon, of Persia, of Greece, and of Rome; the policy of Germany is the Bismarckian policy of deliberate and ruthless conduct, with world domination for its goal. . . . All Europe is to be Teutonised; we are all to be drilled and schooled and uniformed and taxed by Prussian officials . . . that is the Pan-Germanic dream. That is the ambition which is driving Germany into a war of aggression against this

¹ *Germany's Swelled Head*, pp. 142-3.

country. But the British people do not believe it. . . . The danger is very great, and is very near. It is greater and nearer than it was when I began to give warning of it more than five years ago. . . . Serious warnings have been uttered publicly by Mr. Asquith and by Mr. Balfour, by Sir Edward Grey, by Lord Lansdowne, by Lord Cromer, by Lord Roberts. 'These warnings have not been sufficiently gross or sufficiently explicit to be understood of the people. . . . Let us look at the evidence. . . .'¹

And in what did this evidence consist? What authorised these men to issue their anxious warnings? In the first place they had perceived unmistakable signs—signs which should have escaped no one who did not wilfully close his eyes to them—that Germany was bent on bringing about a general war in Europe from which she hoped to emerge as the mistress of the world; that she was preparing to work out her destiny, as Bismarck said it must be worked out, *by blood and iron*. Since 1871 she had been consolidating with an ever-increasing energy the rôle she then assumed of the predominant military Power in Europe. By a series of Army Acts her peace establishment was gradually raised from 427,000 to over 800,000 men. In the five years between 1904 and 1909 her annual war budget was increased from twenty-seven million pounds to forty-one millions until finally it reached the figure of sixty millions. In 1913 she passed an Act by which the war strength was raised to 5,400,000. This force was superior to the other armies of Europe in the organisation, training and equipment of all its units, and measures were provided by the Act to render it capable of immediate mobilisation.

But the creation of this mighty army was a direct menace to the peace of Continental Europe only. The menace to Great Britain and Greater Britain, came with the German Navy Bill of 1898, and the Kaiser's telegram to his brother, in connection with the scheme it foreshadowed. "I will never rest," he said, "until I have raised the

¹ *Germany and England*, p. 47.

German navy to the position which the German army holds to-day," which was equivalent to saying: "I will build a fleet which shall be as greatly superior to that of Great Britain as my army is to that of France or Russia."

At the same time, a semi-official Navy League was formed which made no secret of its aim to obtain for Germany the supremacy of the seas. It had a million members, and a revenue of £50,000. The numerous publications of this League displayed a violent hostility to England, and the famous toast of its members "zum Tage" (*to the Day*) gave expression to their aspirations.¹ Other naval Acts were passed. That of 1900 doubled the programme of the preceding one; and a reduction of the naval budget in England was invariably followed by renewed activity in Germany. An attempt on our part to economise between 1906 and 1908 resulted in the passing by the Reichstag of a naval Bill which, unless we had quickly awakened to the situation, would have secured to Germany a preponderance in capital ships over the British fleet. It provided for a new fleet of battleships of the Dreadnought and Super-Dreadnought class. In 1912 a further Bill again increased the naval expenditure, and placed four-fifths of the fleet in such a position that it could be immediately mobilised at a short distance from our coasts.

How could the presence of this new and powerful fleet in the North Sea fail to constitute a permanent menace to the British Empire, seeing that that Empire must inevitably cease to exist the moment it loses its supremacy on the sea? In 1906 the British Government proposed at the Hague Conference that there should be a mutual restriction of naval armaments, and a similar proposal was made by the Admiralty in 1913; but in each case the

¹ "In the Pangerman Union (*Alldeutscher Verband*), in the Navy League (*Flottenverein*), the Defence League (*Wehrverein*), and similar associations Germany already possessed gigantic organisations, extending over the whole Empire, which were preparing her, in accordance with a definite programme, for the 'inevitable' war for world-supremacy."—Hermann Fernau, *Grade weil ich Deutscher bin!* (authorised English Translation p. 44).

scheme met with a cold reception at the hands of Germany. *It did not suit her purpose*; and moreover German statesmen looked upon such proposals as a sign of England's decadence. "Now that she feels her strength leaving her," they argued, "now that her day is over, she talks to others of disarmament."¹

And whilst these preparations were going on, and previously to them, Germany's agents were busy in England, France and in other countries, furnishing their Government with information which would sooner or later be turned to account. A marvellous system of espionage was organised throughout the world and maintained by a secret service fund of milliards of marks.

It would not be surprising to learn that every German abroad was expected to supply his Government with any "useful" information which he might be able to obtain, and that every resident of that nationality in this country held instructions as to the duties to be performed by him in the event of a sudden descent of German armies on our coasts. I think it was in 1907 that a letter was published in a London newspaper in which the writer recounted how he had sought to verify this view which he had long held. He seated himself one day at a table in the dining-room of a hotel, where a German was breakfasting alone, and engaged in conversation with him. Speaking German perfectly, he was able to make his companion believe that he was one of his countrymen. Suddenly he said to him: "Wo mobilisieren Sie?" (*Where do you mobilise?*), and the answer came: "Zu Portsmouth" (*At Portsmouth*).

Some interesting details concerning the German spy system in France are given by M. Paul Lanoir, in a work published in 1908.² "Why is it," he says, "that such works as the following, viz. *Stieber's Memoirs*, *Doctor Burch's Notebook*, *German Amours*, *Zerniki's Recollections*, *Conversations of Eckermann and Goethe*, *Chevalier*

¹ *Germany and England*, p. 31.

² *L'Espionnage Allemand en France: Son Organisation, Ses Dangers, Les Remèdes Nécessaires*. English translation by an English officer (Mills & Boon, Ltd.)

Wolheim's Indiscretions, The Active Service Police in the Wars of 1866 and 1870, and other most instructive publications of a specialised character, are so little known, not only to the general public in France, but, what is more distressing still, to those Frenchmen who are specially charged with the duty of frustrating, as far as is possible, the destructive activities of the innumerable agents of the German Secret Police? These latter at the present moment comprise not less than 30,000 individuals of both sexes, Germans, Swiss, and Belgians, distributed throughout our territory, in our garrison towns, at railway junctions, and in localities in the neighbourhood of strategic points and places of concentration of troops. . . .

"From such reading will be drawn the conclusion that since the time of Frederick, who used often to say, 'I have one cook and a hundred spies,' spying in its multifarious forms has always been considered on the other side of the Rhine as one of the most essential parts of the machinery for the defence of the monarchy and the protection of established institutions.

"The recruiting of the executive *personnel* is, moreover, a very easy matter in Germany, where the profession of a spy is adopted as readily as is that of a Government official or a prison guard in Corsica."¹

M. Lanoir describes the discovery in 1884 of a scheme devised by Stieber, the famous director of the spy system in Germany, and approved by Bismarck, by which it would be possible for the whole of the French rolling-stock to be rendered, at a given moment, useless for the mobilisation of troops by the instrumentality of a number of German agents who, with that object in view, had obtained employment in the State railways. "The object aimed at in Stieber's plan of 1880, modifying that of 1876, was to give his master the assurance that, at the instant that it should please King William, in his Imperial Cabinet, to press the electric button, giving the signal for mobilisation, he, Stieber, would press the button for the destruction of our

¹ pp. 1-2.

railways *by his spies* distributed in the capacity of workmen and employees in every portion of the national railway system of France.”¹

As her preparations grew more complete, attempts were made by Germany, or personally by the Emperor, to assert her authority in Europe, and test the power of other nations to resist her ambitions. In the year 1898, the Emperor made a journey to Damascus and, in a speech which he delivered there, declared that he took all Mussulmans under his protection, including, we presume, the sixty-seven millions which owe allegiance to England, not to speak of the Mohammedan subjects of France, Russia, Holland and other countries.

On the 21st March, 1905, he landed at Tangier and delivered another public speech, in which he expressed his determination to uphold the interests of Germany in Morocco. This incident took place the year following the arrangement to which England and France had come concerning their respective interests in Egypt and Morocco, and was intended to test the strength of the Anglo-French Alliance. It ended in the Algeçiras Conference. Later on, in 1911, another thrust was made at this Alliance, when a German gunboat was suddenly sent to the Fort of Agadir.² Energetic action on the part of England on that occasion gave Germany to understand that she was not yet sufficiently powerful to fulfil her “destiny,” though “no one doubted then, or doubts to-day, that England stood in that year on the brink of a war, which she had done nothing to provoke. The situation was saved in 1911

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47. Throughout this book the italics in the quotations are those of the authors cited.

² M. H. von Gerlach, writing in 1913, takes his country to task for the provocation which it was giving to France in particular by the despatch of the *Panther* to Agadir and the sudden increase of the army which was the cause of the French extending the military service from two years to three. “Can one be astonished,” he says, “if the public in France is becoming more and more embittered against us?”—(*Unvernunft üben und drüben*, in *Die Welt am Montag* of 25th April, 1913.)

by the solidarity of England and France. Two Powers which, in the past, had been separated by a multitude of prejudices and conflicting ambitions, felt at last that they were opposed to a common danger of a most serious character.”¹

These facts were sufficient in themselves to arouse the gravest suspicions as to the meaning of Germany's preparations. But there was another circumstance which in itself more than justified the issue of such warnings as those we have cited above. A number of German military men, professors, and even theologians had for years past been openly preaching to their country that war, which had hitherto been regarded by all civilised peoples as an evil, was a thing to be desired, and, indeed, necessary for the health of a nation.² They preached at the same time that it was Germany's mission to expand until she spread herself over the whole of the globe, crushing all those who stood in her path, and carrying with her her “civilisation,” which, in their eyes, was so superior to that of the rest of the world that it was for the benefit of the other nations that it should be imposed upon them by the sword. “Deutschland über Alles” was their watchword, as it is now the soldier's battle-cry. It was Germany's destiny to “purify” and “educate” the world, and Germany's destiny, according to the words of the great Chancellor, was to be worked out *by fire and sword*. The views of these men had in recent years found favour with the Sovereign³ and the politicians, and with practically every

¹ *Why We are at War*, by Members of the Oxford Faculty of Modern History, I. p. 38.

² “In regard to Germany we are confronted by certain circumstances that indisputably merit our consideration here in England. There is, for instance, the annual appearance in Germany of very nearly seven hundred books dealing with war as a science. This points, at once, to an extreme preoccupation in that nation with the idea of war. I doubt whether twenty books a year on the art of war appear in this country, and whether their circulation, when they do appear, is much more than twenty!”—*Germany and England*, p. 64.

³ “The idea of war is ever in his Majesty's mind, even when he is addressing himself to purely pacific matters. The dove of

class of the population. The works of one of them, Treitschke, had come to be regarded as the people's Bible.¹ Another of them, General von Bernhardi, has been decorated with the Iron Cross, and his book, *Germany and the Next War*, had already by the year 1896 passed through six editions.

Let these men speak in their own words: "The Government," writes Bernhardi, "must do everything to foster a military spirit and to make the nation comprehend the duties and aims of an imperial policy. It must continually point to the significance and to the necessity of war as an indispensable agent in policy and civilisation, together with the duty of self-sacrifice and devotion to State and country."²

"We must rouse in our people the unanimous wish for power together with the determination to sacrifice, on the altar of patriotism, not only life and property, but also

peace is always mated with the German eagle. His Majesty cannot unveil a civic monument without referring to the military glory of his ancestors. He cannot address an educational conference without emphasising that, in his opinion, the best kind of education is that which leads the youth of Germany to contemplate the military achievements of their forefathers. He cannot pay a compliment to the ruler of another State without at the same time referring to the bravery and chivalry of the other monarch's military forces. He cannot even preach a sermon without referring to the military exploits of the ancient Hebrews; and he cannot even pray without calling upon the Lord of Hosts to lead the German army to victory." *Germany's War Mania*, p. 19. (A. W. Shaw Co. Ltd.)

"The only occasions where the German Emperor does not mention the German army is when he is talking about the German navy" (*ibid.*, p. 47).

¹The German writer, O. Umfrid, speaks of Treitschke as having founded a school whose name is shouted like a battlecry. "It is he," he says, "who has given the halo of principle and justice to actually performed deeds of political violence" (*The Soul of Germany*, by Thomas F. A. Smith, p. 197). "Justification for all the horrible crimes which Germany has committed in Belgium and France may be found in Treitschke's *Die Politik*" (*ibid.*, p. 191).

²*Germany and the Next War*, by Friedrich von Bernhardi, translated by Allen H. Powles, p. 255.

private views and preferences in the interests of the common welfare. Then alone shall we discharge our great duties of the future, grow into a World Power, and stamp a great part of humanity with the impress of the German spirit. If, on the contrary, we persist in that dissipation of energy which now marks our political life, there is imminent fear that in the great contest of the nations, which we must inevitably face, we shall be dishonourably beaten.”¹

“Our next war will be fought for the highest interests of our country and of mankind. This will invest it with importance in the world’s history. ‘World power or downfall’ (*Weltmacht oder Niedergang*), will be our rallying cry. . . .”²

“If the Imperial Government was of the opinion that it was necessary in the present circumstances to avoid war, still the situation in the world generally shows there can only be a short respite before we once more face the question whether we will draw the sword for our position in the world or renounce such position once and for all. We must not, in any case, wait until our opponents have completed their arming and decide that the hour of attack has come. . . . We may expect from the Government that it will prosecute the military and political preparation for war with the energy which the situation demands, in clear knowledge of the dangers threatening us, but also in correct appreciation of our national needs and of the warlike strength of our people, and that it will not let any conventional scruples distract it from this object.

“Repeal of the Five Years Act, reconstruction of the army on an enlarged basis, accelerated progress in our naval armaments, preparation of sufficient financial means—these are requirements which the situation calls for. New and creative ideas must fructify our policy and lead it to the happy goal.

“The political situation offers many points on which to rest our lever. England, too, is in a most difficult position.

¹ *Germany and the Next War*, p. 114.

² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

The conflict of her interests with Russia's in Persia and in the newly arisen Dardanelles question, as well as the power of Islam in the most important parts of her colonial Empire, are the subjects of permanent anxiety in Great Britain. Attention has already been called to the significance and difficulty of her relation with North America. France also has considerable obstacles still to surmount in her African Empire, before it can yield its full fruits. The disturbance in the Far East will probably fetter Russia's forces, and England's interests will suffer in sympathy. These are all conditions which an energetic and far-sighted German policy can utilise in order to influence the general political situation in the interests of our Fatherland." ¹

"We Germans, therefore, must not be deceived by such official efforts to maintain the peace. Arbitration courts must evidently always consider the existing judicial and territorial rights. For a rising State, which has not yet attained the position due to it, which is in urgent need of colonial expansion, and can only accomplish it chiefly at the cost of others, these treaties therefore augur ill at once, as being apt to prevent a rearrangement of power. In the face of this widespread peace propaganda, and in opposition to it, *we* must firmly keep in view the fact that no arbitration court in the world can remove and settle any really great tension that exists and is due to deep-seated national, economical and political antagonism; and that, on the other hand, it is impossible to change the partition of the earth, as it now exists, in our favour by diplomatic artifices. If we wish to gain the position in the world that is due to us, we must rely on our sword, renounce all weakly visions of peace." ²

"The efforts directed towards the abolition of war must not only be termed foolish but absolutely immoral, and must be stigmatised as unworthy of the human race." ³

¹ *Germany and the Next War*, p. 287.

² Bernhardt, *How Germany makes War*, English translation (Hodder & Stoughton), Introd., p. xiii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

"War is an instrument of progress, a regulator in the life of humanity, an indispensable factor in civilisation, a creative force." ¹

"Then again, there are the false apostles of to-day who condemn war as in itself reprehensible. A universal peace, in which wolf and lamb shall dwell together in unity, is proved possible by a multitude of misleading and seductive arguments. Thus do the shadows deepen over the ancient Germanic ideal of a proud nation of warriors, an ideal which is bound to lose its power to attract, particularly in a prolonged peace, when even the most martial-minded see that all chances of testing their prowess are fading gradually away. . . . The warlike spirit must not be allowed to die out among people, neither must the love of peace get the upper hand, for all the greater would be the consternation at the moment of awakening. If the Fatherland is to remain victorious, we must not let our old ideals of manly courage, fearless scorn of death, and knightly virtue be destroyed, but must cherish and uphold them to the utmost, both in this generation and in all that are to come." ²

"Every means must therefore be employed to oppose these visionary schemes. They must be publicly denounced as what they really are—as an unhealthy and feeble Utopia, or a cloak for political machinations. Our people must learn to see that *the maintenance of peace never can or may be the goal of a policy*. . . . The inevitableness, the idealism and the blessing of war, as an indispensable and stimulating law of development, must be repeatedly emphasised." ³

"You must love peace as a means to war and prefer the shorter peace to the long. . . . War and courage perform greater deeds than the love of our neighbour." ⁴

"It has always been the weary, spiritless and exhausted

¹ *How Germany makes War*, p. 2.

² Baron von der Goltz, *Jena to Eylau*, quoted in *Germany's War Mania*, pp. 186-7.

³ *Germnay and the Next War*, p. 37.

⁴ Nietzsche, *Also Sprach Zarathustra*.

ages which have played with the dream of perpetual peace." ¹

"Might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war. War gives a biologically just decision, since its decisions rest on the very nature of things." ²

"But it (war) is not only a biological law, but a moral obligation, and, as such, an indispensable factor in civilisation." ³

"If war is permitted by God, then warfare is a duty. . . . Such a duty and such fulfilment are not only consistent with Christianity but are demanded by Christianity." ⁴

"Perpetual peace is a dream and it is not even a beautiful dream. War forms part of the universal order instituted by God." ⁵

"Especially in a State which is so wholly based on war as is the German Empire, the old manly principle of keeping all our forces on the stretch must never be abandoned out of deference to the effeminate philosophy of the day." ⁶

"We Germans have a far greater and more urgent duty to perform towards civilisation than the Great Asiatic Power. We, like the Japanese, can only fulfil it by the sword. Shall we, then, decline to adopt a bold and active policy, the most effective means with which we can prepare our people for its military duty?" ⁷

"The German nation, too . . . will rise to the height of its great duty. A mighty force, which only awaits the summons, sleeps in its soul. Whoever to-day can awaken the slumbering idealism of this people, and rouse the national enthusiasm by placing before its eyes

¹ Treitschke, quoted by Bernhardi in *Germany and the Next War*, p. 17.

² *Germany and the Next War*, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴ A leading Berlin clergyman in the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*.

⁵ Count Moltke, December 11, 1880 (see Andler, *Frightfulness*, translated by Miall, p. 94).

⁶ *Germany and the Next War*, p. 261.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

a worthy and comprehensible ambition, will be able to sweep this people on, in united strength, to the highest efforts and sacrifices, and will achieve a truly magnificent result.

"In the consciousness of being able at any time to call up these forces, and in the sure trust that they will not fail in the hour of danger, our Government can firmly tread the path which leads to a splendid future; but it will not be able to liberate all the forces of Germany, unless it wins her confidence by successful action and takes for its motto the brave words of Goethe—

"Bid defiance to every power!
Ever valiant, never cower!
To the brave soldier open flies
The golden gates of Paradise."¹

"When we realise all these facts (the greatness of England and the extent of her Empire and also of that of France and Russia), and then consider the situation of the German people, who see a third of their population living outside the limits of the German Empire under a foreign domination; if we remember, moreover, that the whole of our colonial empire is no greater than two and a half million square kilometres with twelve million inhabitants, the German cannot help being seized with rage that things should be as they are. . . . If we remember, lastly, that, of all nations of the earth, the German has the highest form of general culture and its army on land is by everybody acknowledged to be the first and best in the world, this accursed inferiority of our colonial power becomes more and more enigmatic. And if we add the fact that the German nation has now attained to the same general prosperity as the French and English nations, and that we occupy the second rank in the importance of our commercial exports, it becomes more and more incomprehensible that we should be relegated to the situation in which we are now placed in the world, and the whole

¹ *Germany and the Next War*, p. 282.

German nation must now realise that our ancestors have left us much to do.”¹

“Let us not forget the civilising task which is incumbent on us in accordance with the decree of Providence. Just as Prussia was destined to be the kernel of Germany (*Kern Deutschlands*) so Germany regenerated will be the kernel of the future Empire of the West. And that none may be ignorant, we proclaim, from this moment, that our nation has a right to the sea, not only to the North Sea, but to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. We will absorb one after the other of the provinces adjoining Prussia. We will annex successively Denmark, Holland, Belgium, the Franche-Comté, the north of Switzerland, Livonia, Trieste and Venice, and finally, the north of France from the Somme to the Loire.”²

“We will annex Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Livonia, Trieste and Venice. . . . This programme, which we exhibit, is not the work of a madman; this Empire, which we intend to establish, will not be a Utopia, we have already in our hands the means of realising it.”³

“The future territory of German expansion,” wrote Ernst Hasse, “situated between the territories of the Eastern and Western Powers, must absorb all the intermediate regions; it must stretch from the North Sea to the Baltic; from the Netherlands, taking in Luxemburg and Switzerland, down to the islands of the Danube and the Balkan Peninsula, and will include Asia Minor as far as the Persian Gulf. All foreign influence must be eliminated.”⁴

“A successful policy cannot be followed without taking chances and facing risks. It must be conscious of its goal and keep this goal steadily in view. It must press every change of circumstances and all unforeseen occurrences into the service of its own ideas. Above all things,

¹ Tannenberg, *Gross-Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 212.

² General von Clausewitz, quoted in *Paroles Allemandes* (“Librairie Berger-Levrault, 1915”), p. 92.

³ General Bronsart von Schellendorf, ex-Minister for War in the Prussian Cabinet, quoted in *Paroles Allemandes*, p. 95.

⁴ *Weltpolitik*.

it must be ready to seize the psychological moment and take bold action if the general position of affairs indicates the possibility of realising political ambitions, or of waging a necessary war under favourable conditions.”¹

“A further influence of policy on the conduct of the war is established by the fact *that policy must choose the moment for the State to take up arms.*”²

“Finally, preparations for war must also be made politically; that is to say, efforts must be made to bring about a favourable political conjuncture, and, so far as possible, to isolate the first enemy with whom a war is bound to come. If that cannot be effected, an attempt must be made to win allies in whom confidence can be reposed, should war break out.”³

“If we attacked France or Russia, the ally would be compelled to bring help, and we should be in a far worse position than if we had only one enemy to fight. Let it then be the task of our diplomacy so to shuffle the cards that we may be attacked by France, for then there would be reasonable prospect that Russia for a time would remain neutral.

“If we wish to bring about an attack by our opponents we must initiate an active policy which, without attacking France, will so prejudice her interests or those of England, that both these States would feel themselves compelled to attack us. Opportunities for such procedure are offered both in Africa and Europe. . . . In opposition to these ideas, the view has frequently been brought forward that we should wait quietly and let time fight for us, since from the force of circumstances many prizes will fall into our laps for which we have now to struggle hard.”⁴

“In one way or another *we must square our account with France*, if we wish for a free hand in our international policy. This is the first and foremost condition of a sound German policy; and since the hostility of France once for

¹ *Germany and the Next War*, p. 275.

² *How Germany makes War*, p. 151.

³ *Germany and the Next War*, p. 260.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

all cannot be removed by peaceful overtures, the matter must be settled by force of arms. France must be so completely crushed that she can never again come across our path." ¹

"Even a coalition of France and Russia could be overcome with our forces alone if without hesitation and without scruple we employ greater violence." ²

Speaking of the Franco-German Convention concerning the affairs of Morocco, Bernhardt writes: "We need not regard this Convention as definitive; it is as liable to revision as the Algeçiras Treaty, and indeed offers, in this respect, the advantage that it creates new opportunities of friction with France." ³

Of Russia Paul de Lagarde wrote in 1881: "We must create a Central Europe, which would guarantee the peace of the entire Continent from the moment when it shall have driven the Russians from the Black Sea, and the Slavs from the south, and shall have conquered large tracts to the east of our frontiers, for German colonisation. We cannot let loose *ex abrupto* the war which will create this Central Europe; all we can do is to accustom our people to the thought that this must come." ⁴

It has long been a theory of German writers that small States have no right to exist; they must be merged in the greater; and the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Herr von Jagow, has endorsed this principle; "they are destined to disappear," he has said, "or to gravitate into the orbit of the Great Powers." ⁵ Treitschke had already written: "It is evident that, if the State has power, it is only the most powerful State which bears out that conception, so that no one can deny the absurdity of the existence of a small State. There is no absurdity

¹ *Germany and the Next War*, p. 105. Tannenbergh and Frymann express the same opinion: "Frankreich muss zerschmettert werden" (*France must be crushed*) is the "Delenda est Carthago" of Cato.

² Hans Delbrück, *Deutschland bei Beginn des 20 Jahrhunderts*, 1900, p. 212.

³ *Germany and the Next War*, p. 285.

⁴ *Deutsche Schriften*, 4th edition, 1903, p. 83.

⁵ Durkheim, *Germany Above All* (English translation), p. 37.

in weakness itself, but there is great absurdity in weakness which tries to pass itself off as power." ¹

Various writers disposed of the fate of these countries; of Holland, Fritz Bley wrote in 1897: "We require these new Dutch territories, already fertilised by German blood, for the indispensable expansion of our economic dominion. On a Rhine which has become German to the mouth we need a free traffic, which the silent resistance of Holland now hampers." ²

"Holland, with its Royal Family, its European territory,

¹ Treitschke, *Politik*, vol. i. p. 41.

"This doctrine of Treitschke is now professed by all the German professors and writers *without any exception*; it is commented upon and developed by professors such as Laland and Spahn, of the University of Strasbourg; Adolph Lasson, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Berlin; Oncken, Professor at the University of Heidelberg; Wilhelm Ostwald, Professor of Chemistry at the University of Leipzig; Ernst Haeckel, Professor at the University of Jena, and by many others whose names it would take too long to enumerate. One might say that this doctrine has become to-day the fundamental creed of German politics and of German aspirations, both in the military and in the civil domain.

" 'They are no more,' says one of his disciples, 'than parasitic organisms which can merely move in the orbits of the Great Powers, and which live at their expense.' The historical process, which must impose itself on them sooner or later, is the aggregation of all those small States into great political units; that must happen to all the minute States (*Kleinstaaterei*), which in the feudal times constituted Europe, and which even at the present day remain incapable of developing a national life, and cannot arrest the expansion and influence of the great States. 'And no one will regret the disappearance of these small States,' says Treitschke, 'not even their own citizens.' Thus at the end of a long process of evolution, the kingdom of Prussia has been formed, which in turn resulted in the constitution of the German Empire; that in turn ought now to reach its final and logical result, the growth of Germany into a world-power dictating its law, not only to Europe but to all the continents."—*The War and the German Propaganda: a Swiss View of Germany's Aims* (English translation, published by Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode, Ltd.), p. 9.

² Quoted by Professor Charles Andler, *Pan-Germanism* (English translation), p. 16.

and its colonies in South America, the Sunda Islands, and in the Australian seas, must be incorporated in the German Empire as one of the States of the Bund, and the same is the case with Belgium. The Congo State must become a German colony.”¹

“By the entry of Belgium into the German Empire, the ancient German frontier near the Scheldt of the time of Charles V would be re-established . . . Luxemburg and Switzerland would likewise form part of the new Empire, while maintaining their present constitution; but they would have to furnish their contingent for the defence of the Empire, which has already long protected them, in conformity with the requirements of great Germany.”²

“As to Belgium and Holland, these two nations must fully realise that the next war will decide their future. As things are in Europe, one may say unequivocally that the small States have *ipso facto* lost the right to exist, for a State could not make good its right to independence unless it could defend it sword in hand. . . . It is self-evident that, if this union took place, the Dutch language would remain undisturbed. In Belgium, preference would be given to Flemish, and German would only be compulsory in the army. And we Germans of the Empire would give this degenerate nation the possibility of re-establishing a fruitful and active policy.”³

“The Dutch are a practical people, who see their advantage in everything that they do, and they must admit to-day that it would be preferable for them to belong to the great German Empire. Three reasons render this conception evident. The first is the consideration that small economic dominions cannot maintain themselves efficiently in the twentieth century. . . . Another reason for engulfing the Netherlands in the German Empire is that the two dialects—Dutch with its 5,100,000 and Flemish with its three millions and a half—are too feeble to make an independent intellectual life possible. . . . The third reason is the impossibility for the weak population of

¹ *Gross-Deutschland*, p. 105.

² *Ibid.*

³ Frymann, *Wenn ich der Kaiser wär*, pp. 152-5.

the Low Countries to play any independent part in a world in arms." ¹

The *Koloniales Jahrbuch* for 1897 wrote—

"The importance of South Africa as a land which can receive an unlimited number of white emigrants must rouse us to the greatest exertions, in order to secure there supremacy for the Teuton race. The greater part of the population of South Africa is of Low German descent. We must constantly lay stress on the Low German origin of the Boers, and we must, before all, stimulate their hatred against Anglo-Saxondom. No doubt the Boers will, with characteristically German tenacity, retake their former possessions from the English by combining slimness with force. In this attempt they can count upon the assistance of the German brother nation." ²

As for Turkey, whose rulers fondly trusted that Egypt, and perhaps the whole of northern Africa, would be restored to her as a reward for throwing in her cause with Germany, nothing is clearer than that Germany intends to include the greater part, if not the whole, of the Ottoman Dominions in her new Empire, which is to "spread from the North Sea, to the Persian Gulf." She has had that in view since her engineers laid down the first kilometre of the Adana-Baghdad railway line. ³

¹ *Gross-Deutschland*, pp. 88, 93, 96.

² Quoted in *Germany's Designs on South Africa*, by Percy Fitzpatrick, p. 109.

³ "The Germans impose their yoke alike on friend and foe" (Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 73). Germany had for a long time been tightening her grasp on Turkey by her methods of "peaceful penetration." "During the last few years Germany has sunk a great deal of capital in Asia Minor and has built numerous schools and hospitals. That the Germans seriously regarded Turkey as their inheritance is shown not merely by the construction of the Bagdad Railway across Asia Minor, but also by the plans for river regulation and the building of canals towards the Black Sea, which have been discussed so diligently during the war. In my opinion the actual plan of Germany might be expressed even more fittingly by the watchword 'Berlin-Cairo.'"—(Thomas G. Masaryk, late Professor at the Czech University at Prague, and member of the Austrian Parliament, in *The New Europe*, October 19, 1916.)

"What else did her Emperor mean," as Professor Andler asks, "when he went to Damascus and proclaimed himself the 'Protector of all the Moslems'?" The phrase in which the German Pastor Naumann, who was present, describes it is a "secret calculation of grave and remote possibility."¹

"The East is the only territory of the world which has not passed under the control of one of the ambitious nations of the globe," wrote the Arabist, Anton Sprenger; "yet it offers the most magnificent field for colonisation, and if Germany does not allow this opportunity to escape her, if she seizes this domain before the Cossacks lay hands upon it, she will have received the best share in the partition of the earth. The German Emperor would have the destinies of nearer Asia in his power if some hundreds of thousands of armed colonists were cultivating this splendid plain. He might, and would be the creator of peace for the nations."² "Germany must lay her mighty grasp on Asia Minor," wrote another German patriot.³

Tannenberg expresses the same views: "As the African possessions of Islam in the region of the Nile have fallen under the English protectorate without there resulting therefrom any coldness in the Anglo-Turkish relations, it is perfectly equitable and just that the Turkish possessions in Asia should pass into the German dominion, seeing that we continue to entertain equally friendly relations with the Turks. . . . Of course we will strictly guarantee the rights of Turkey just as is done in the case of Egypt. . . . We will consider as much as possible the desires of the people just as England has done with such care. The territories which we have in mind comprise Asia Minor and Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine and northern Arabia."⁴

"These regions (Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia) might become for us what Egypt is for England, that is to

¹ Andler, *Pan-Germanism* (English translation), p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³ "Amicus Patriæ," *Armenien und Kreta*, 1896, p. 15.

⁴ *Gross-Deutschland*, pp. 222-3.

say, not only an important outlet for the products of our national industry but also a starting-point from which we might expand towards eastern Asia and Africa.”¹

Tannenberg suggested a separate treaty with England, by which Germany and England are practically to divide the whole of the world, with the exception of the United States and China, between themselves, the division of China being reserved for a future period.

By Articles 2 and 3, England recognises the re-organisation of the Empire of the Hapsburgs by the accession of Poland, Serbia, Bulgaria and Roumania, and acknowledges the inclusion of Holland and Belgium and their colonies in the German Empire.

By Articles 7, 8, 9, and 10, the French colonies are divided between Germany and England, with the exception of Tunis, which is ceded to Italy, and Algeria, which remains a French possession.

By Article 11, Portuguese West Africa goes to Germany and Portuguese East Africa to England.

By Articles 13 and 14, an understanding is to be come to between Germany and England as to their spheres of influence in South America, Germany undertaking the protectorate of the Republics of the Argentine, Chili, Uruguay, Paraguay, and parts of Bolivia and Brazil. Germany and England agree to uphold the partition between themselves of South America, in spite of any protest on the part of the United States of North America.

As a peace-offering to the United States, Germany and England consent, by Article 15, to the United States exercising a protectorate over Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Venezuela and other States.

By Article 16, Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia, Palestine, western Persia and a part of Arabia will constitute a German protectorate, and Siam will constitute another.

By Article 18, England acknowledges Germany's suzerainty over the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, Walfish Bay and part of the Maldives.

¹ *Gross-Deutschland.*

In another suggested treaty between Germany and Austria it is distinctly stated that the German protectorate will eventually extend over the whole of the Turkish Empire including Constantinople itself.

Other writers claim that German suzerainty should be extended to South America, Central Africa and other parts of the globe.

"Decrepit states like the Argentine and Brazilian Republics, and, more or less, all those beggarly states of South America would be induced, either by force or otherwise, to listen to reason," writes Friedrich Lange.¹

The conviction is held by many in America that this ambitious people seriously hoped to include the United States in their conquest.

"The victory of Germany and Austria," writes Professor Hale in the *New York Tribune*, "would mean a Germanised and bureaucratically controlled England, France, Russia and Italy; for Italy would not survive. It would be a world intolerable to live in, and intolerable for an American to think about. But thinking about it is not the only thing that he would suffer.

"The victory of Germany would put at her disposal an enormous fleet, consisting of all the ships that survived the war. Her ambition would not be sated. She aims at nothing less than world dominion. *Deutschland über alles* does not mean 'with the exception of the United States.' She has known how to attack us. The moment she had a trained German *personnel* for her immense navy, South America, or as much as she wanted of it from time to time, would become a German colony. The nucleus already exists in Brazil, and could easily enough produce an excuse for war, if one was thought desirable for historical purposes. To the winds would go the Monroe Doctrine and South American freedom. We, with our then relatively tiny navy, should be helpless either to keep Germany off or to dislodge her. From South America she would strike at us. Our coasts would be at her mercy, and she could land her disciplined troops anywhere. The

¹ *Reines Deutschtum*, 1904, p. 208.

country would be full of spies, as France and Belgium are to-day. We should fight desperately and our land is of great extent. But only disciplined armies can prevail in these times. Guerilla warfare is useless. Fighting would be done here by railroads and the reduction of great centres. The population of Germany and Austria is to-day larger than ours by some sixteen millions; and Germany, then the mistress of Europe, could safely bring an army into the field from many quarters, both of Europe and South America. The struggle would be bitter. We should have the advantage in distance; but the ocean is narrow to-day, as the presence of soldiers from all parts of the world on the battlefields of France has shown us. And Germany would have every other possible start of us.

"This is no idle speculation. It is no more a nightmare than was the possibility of a Germanised Europe a few months ago. We should stop it all by throwing our strength now upon the side of the Allies."¹

"I agree with the *London Spectator*: 'Strange as it will sound to most American ears . . . it is none the less true that at this moment what stands between the Monroe doctrine and its complete destruction are our ships in the North Sea and the battle-weary, mud-stained men in the British and French trenches on the Aisne.'"²

"It seems ignoble, and it is, to cling over-anxiously to life when daily so many thousands before our eyes give it up. This is our battle, too, that is being fought in Europe; our destiny as well as their own that Belgians, British, French, Germans, and all the rest are struggling and dying over. This is a conflict of fundamental ideas. If the German idea wins, its next great clash seems likely to be with the idea that underlies such civilisation as we have in these States."³

"Whereas, we believe that the Monroe doctrine and even the territories of our own country, have been, and now are,

¹ November 10, 1914.

² J. William White, *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, p. 353.

³ *The War Week by Week*, p. 133.

an avowed aim of Prussian aggression, and that, in the event of the success of the Teutonic Powers, the next attack would be made against the United States. . . ."¹

And as to Great Britain: "In how many novels, speeches, articles and pamphlets have German soldiers and civilians declared the national hope and purpose of destroying British naval supremacy, and breaking up the British Empire? Their name is legion."²

Even our language is to disappear and make room for the guttural sounds of Teutonic speech: "And the victory once won, be it now or be it one hundred years hence, there remains a task for the German than which none is more important, that of forcing the German tongue on the world. On all men, not those belonging to the more cultured races only, but on men of all colours and nationalities, the German language acts as a blessing which, coming direct from the hand of God, sinks into the heart like a precious balm and ennobles it.

"English, the canting tongue of the canting island pirates, must be swept from the place it has usurped, and forced back into the remotest corners of Britain until it has returned to its original elements of an insignificant pirate dialect."³

In the year 1913 a book entitled *German Chauvinism* was published by Dr. Otfried Nippold exposing the warlike inclinations of his countrymen. He quotes numerous articles from the War Press of Germany.⁴ We content ourselves with the following—

"A nation, which has increased so much as Germany

¹Resolution of the "American Rights Committee." According to the *Chemnitzer Volkstimme*, a pamphlet published anonymously at Berlin in 1895 under the title of *Germania Triumphans*, foretold the partition of America "after an easy victory" in 1912.

²Blatchford, *England and Germany*, p. 9.

³From the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, quoted in the *Textbook of the War for Americans*, pp. 40-1.

⁴"Der Deutsche Chauvinismus," 1913. The extracts are taken from *The True Pastime*, by Alexander Gray, where the reader will find a very large number of them.

has done, is compelled to follow a policy of constant expansion." ¹

"A people which, like ourselves, is developing and striving forwards, needs new territory for its forces, and if peace does not bring that, there remains only war." ²

"With the will to war there must also be bound up the resolution to adopt a ruthless offensive, because only an offensive guarantees the victory. . . . Germany must be ready for the attack; just as in 1870, her preparation must be so strong that she may be able, with superior forces, to transform, as in 1870, the will to war, if necessary, into military action." ³

"Let us at least learn this lesson from history, that an enormous wave of prosperity follows war and rests upon war, and that without warlike capacity the golden age of a nation can never endure. . . . The German people, by its history and its unexampled Kultur, has a well-founded claim to be heard in the world. With modesty you do not get very far. It is often nobler to give the answer with the sword." ⁴

"War is the most sublime and holiest expression of human activity. It affords the opportunity of sacrificing, in accordance with God's command, the highest possession for our brothers; it gives the hero everlasting life. We see this when on Sundays we go to the soldiers' church where we live. From the Prayer Book our eyes wander involuntarily to the tablet on the wall. There, over long lists of names, stand the words: 'The following died in the Lord on the field of battle fighting for their King and country.' . . . How we wish from Sunday to Sunday that our names may some day be written on these tablets! Then we would live for ever, still envied after the lapse of centuries. . . . For us also one day there will strike the great glad hour of battle. . . . The loudly expressed desire

¹ *Hamburger Nachrichten*, January 19, 1913.

² General von Wrichen in the *Danziger Neueste Nachrichten*, May 6, 1914.

³ General Klein, in *Der Tag*, of October 16, 1912.

⁴ *Darmstadter Tageblatt*, April 23, 1913.

for war too often becomes vain boasting. . . . But, still and deep in the German heart, the joy in war and the longing for it must remain, because we have enemies enough, and victory is only for a people which with song and music goes into war as into a festival. . . . With all our power then let us laugh away those old women in men's clothes who fear war and go about complaining that it is horrible or hateful. No, war is beautiful. Its majestic greatness lifts the human heart high above what is earthly and trivial." ¹

"Western philosophers," as M. Dampierre says, "look upon war as an evil which is practically unavoidable, in order to settle disputes which would not otherwise be determined between nations; but they deny that this exceptional course should be made use of to destroy a conquered people, and hold that the damage that is caused by war should be reduced to a minimum and confined as far as possible to the sphere of the military operations. German theorists, on the other hand, look upon war as the reflex of the vitality of a people, as a thing noble and beautiful in itself, and consider that its chief object is to increase the power of the victorious nation by destroying its rivals and by robbing them, as far as is possible, of all their advantages, thus placing the conqueror either wholly or partially in the position occupied by the conquered. Thus deprived of any moral, philosophical, or scientific character, this form of bellicose imperialism is reduced to a simple instinct of violence and plunder, which is the characteristic of every carnivorous animal. It is what the Germans themselves call 'Faustrecht,' or the 'reign of the fist,' but the curious point is that they should endow this violence with a kind of religious respect—with the mysticism of enthusiasts, regarding it as a normal manifestation of force, from which alone right can be created. Schiller and other great German writers exalted the glory of national war: 'Man wastes himself in peace'; 'An idle repose is the tomb of courage'; *the law is the friend of the weak* and would make all things equal . . .

¹ *Jungdeutschland Post*, February 25, 1913.

but war brings force to the front . . . and gives heart even to the coward' (*Die Braut von Messina*).¹

No one, I think, who reads the above pages with an open mind and in the light of subsequent events, can fail to see that Germany had for years past been bent upon establishing her dominion by the sword over the rest of the world, that the atmosphere in Germany was charged with the war spirit, and that every preparation had been made which it was believed would ensure the consummation of her designs.

To sum up the situation we will quote a few words from the article by Mr. Thomas G. Masaryk, referred to above (p. 22):—

"The Germans have stated clearly enough, both before and during hostilities, why they were looking forward to this war, and what they wish its result to be. The meaning of the present war is reflected in the voluminous political literature which propagates the Pangerman programme and the discussions which still centre round it. . . .

"Pangermanism reached its highest point during the reign of the Emperor William II, growing into the political doctrine of German Imperialism, which proclaimed, in the first place, the need of economic and political union between Germany and Austria-Hungary, and of adding the Balkans and Turkey to this union. This plan is expressed in the watchword 'Central Europe,' which involves a further programme for the annexation of the Baltic and of some purely Russian provinces of Russia, and would thus provide an opportunity for reconstructing Poland under German leadership. . . .

"But the Pangermans also demand the annexation of non-German territories on grounds of 'Real-Politik.' Germany, they argue, needs colonies, needs a hinterland. They point to the growth of population, to the great

¹ *L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, pp. 53-4. The expression "The law is the friend of the weak" is quoted from Schiller by both Bernhardi and Lasson.

number of emigrants, which weakens the German nation; they adduce the fact that Germany, who in 1871 had only 41,000,000 inhabitants, now has 68,000,000. Anxiety concerning their daily bread forces them to extend their frontiers; Germany requires more land to cultivate, and must therefore simply take it. Hence the demands for the annexation of Holland and her colonies, the necessity of possessing Antwerp, etc. . . .

"The votaries of Pangermanism appeal to German inclination for war; war is positively adored, and with that goes the worship of militarism. They tell us that Germans and Teutons are naturally gifted with the necessary constructive statesmanlike ability; in the Slavs this ability, according to them, is lacking, therefore the Slav States were founded, and subsequently annexed, by the Germans. But not only the Slavs, the French and other nations also were—according to these theorists—formed by the Germans just as even Christ Himself was of German origin.¹ In a word, the whole world is and must be German. Pangermans do not disguise the lust of power and the greed of Imperialism; they proclaim German aristocratism, social, political, cultural, racial, and linguistic, and carry it mercilessly to its extreme logical results—*Imperare, Regnare*, over all the nations and lands. . . .

"Even long before the war, Pangerman Imperialism dominated not only intellectual circles, but also wider classes of the population of Germany and Austria-Hungary, and supplied them with their political education. It is simply not true that only a few people participated and co-operated in Pangerman propaganda. The number of such writers is very great; Pangerman books and pamphlets had, and still have to-day, a very large circulation and run through many editions. The Pangerman plan of 'Berlin-Bagdad,' has been upheld by men like Moltke, List,

¹ It is argued that the syllable *Jes* is identical with *Ger*, *s* and *r* being interchangeable, while the Latin masculine termination *us* is equivalent to *man* in the Teutonic languages. (*Ein Pangermanisches Deutschland*, by J. L. Reimer 1905, pp. 232-3.)

Rodbertus, W. Roscher, Lassalle, Lagarde, C. Frantz, Windhorst, etc. Pangerman ideas were propagated by energetic societies and clubs, notably the Allgemeine deutsche Verban (Pangerman League), 1890, Mitteleuropaeischer Wirtschaftsverein (Central European Economic Union), 1904, and Vorderasien-Komitee (Asia Minor Committee), 1911; the latter was founded by Hugo Grothe, and among its Trustees are to be found such names as Ballin, von der Goltz Pasha, Karl Lamprecht, Hans Meyer, Cornelius Gurlitt, Dr. von Jacobs (President of the German Levant Line) and R. Willing. The Pangermans expressed explicitly and in plain language what the others expressed implicitly. . . .

"The German plan, as expounded during the course of the war, has steadily progressed in the direction indicated. The weakening of Russia and the Slavs must be the first step, but the final stage is to be the overthrow of Britain.

"Once Germany has achieved 'Central Europe,' the time for a blow at Britain would soon come. Germany with Austria-Hungary, the Balkans and Turkey at her disposal, has a free path to Egypt and India, and nothing could then stop her march into Holland and Belgium and the maritime north of France, if occasion should arise. Once Berlin-Bagdad and Berlin-Cairo became a reality, the power and riches yielded by this 'Central Europe' would perhaps even render the fight against Britain in Europe superfluous; moreover, the progress of aeronautics and the development of the navy would facilitate the invasion of England, if that were still required. The possession of Trieste, Salonica, and Constantinople would assure to 'Central Europe' dominion over the Adriatic, Ægean and Mediterranean; Turkey would secure to Germany access to Africa and India, and Britain would collapse in pitiful isolation. . . .

"If Berlin succeeds in creating 'Central Europe,' the aim of the war is attained, even if, at the worst, some time should elapse before the completion of the Constantinople-Bagdad and Constantinople-Cairo routes.

“If successful, Prussia-Germany would become an Asiatic and African Power like Russia, Britain and France; nay more, she would become the greatest World-Power. Pangermanism is a programme for the final solution of the Eastern Question. The Great War is a daring attempt to organise Europe, Asia and Africa—the Old World—under the leadership of Germany.”

II

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENT

THAT the situation was causing anxiety to the French Government is evident from the following despatches published in the Yellow Book of 1913—

*M. Etienne, Minister of War, to M. Jonnart, Minister
for Foreign Affairs.*

Paris, April 2, 1913.

I have just received from a reliable source an official secret report concerning the strengthening of the German Army. The report is divided into two parts: the first consisting of general statements, the second dealing with technicalities and describing in the greatest detail, for each branch of the service, the measures to be adopted. Especially striking are the instructions with regard to the employment of motor-traction and the utilisation of aircraft.

I have the honour to enclose a copy of the first part of this document, which seems to merit your attention.

ETIENNE.

MEMORANDUM ON THE STRENGTHENING OF THE GERMAN ARMY.

Berlin, March 19, 1913.

I.—General Memorandum of the New Military Laws.
The increase has taken place in three stages—

(1) The Conference of Algeçiras has removed the last doubt with regard to the existence of an *Entente* between

France, Great Britain and Russia. Moreover, we have seen that Austria-Hungary was obliged to keep some of her forces mobilised against Serbia and Italy; finally, our fleet was not at that time sufficiently strong. At the end of the dispute the first matter taken in hand was the strengthening of our coast defences and the increase of our naval forces. To meet the British plan of sending an Expeditionary Force of 100,000 men to the Continent, it would be necessary to make a better formation of reserves to be used according to circumstances in the protection of the coast, in fortresses and in siege operations. It was already clear at that time that it would be absolutely necessary to make a great effort.

(2) The French having violated the Morocco Conventions brought on the incident of Agadir. At that time the progress made by the French army, the moral recovery of the nation, the technical advance in the realm of aviation and of machine guns rendered an attack on France less easy than in the previous period. Further, an attack by the British fleet had to be considered. This difficult situation opened our eyes to the necessity for an increase in the army. This increase was from this moment considered as a minimum.

(3) The war in the Balkans might have involved us in a war in support of our ally. The new situation in the south of Austria-Hungary lessened the value of the help which this ally could give us. On the other hand, France was strengthened by a new *loi des cadres*: it was accordingly necessary to anticipate the date of execution contemplated by the new military law.

Public opinion is being prepared for a new increase in the active army, which would ensure Germany an honourable peace and the possibility of properly ensuring her influence in the affairs of the world. The new army law and the supplementary law, which should follow, will enable her almost completely to attain this end.

Neither ridiculous shriekings for revenge by French chauvinists, nor the Englishmen's gnashing of teeth, nor the wild gestures of the Slavs, will turn us from our aim of protecting and extending *Deutschtum* (German influence) all the world over.

The French may arm as much as they wish; they cannot in one day increase their population. The employment of an army of black men in the theatre of European operations will remain for a long time a dream, and in any case be devoid of beauty.

II.—Aim and Obligations of our National Policy, of our Army, and of the Special Organisations for Army Purposes.

Our new army law is only an extension of the military education of the German nation. Our ancestors of 1813 made greater sacrifices. It is our sacred duty to sharpen the sword that has been put into our hands and to hold it ready for defence as well as for offence. *We must allow the idea to sink into the minds of our people that our armaments are an answer to the armaments and policy of the French.* We must accustom them to think that an offensive on our part is a necessity, in order to combat the provocations of our adversaries. We must act with prudence so as not to arouse suspicion, and to avoid the crisis which might injure our economic existence. We must so manage matters that under the heavy weight of powerful armaments, considerable sacrifices, and strained political relations, an outbreak (*Losschlagen*) should be considered as a relief, because after it would come decades of peace and prosperity as after 1870. We must prepare for war from the financial point of view; there is much to be done in this direction. We must not arouse the distrust of our financiers, but there are many things which cannot be concealed.

We must not be anxious about the fate of our colonies. The final result in Europe will settle their position. On the other hand we must stir up trouble in the north of Africa and in Russia. It is a means of keeping the forces of the enemy engaged. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that we should open up relations, by means of well-chosen agents, with influential people in Egypt, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco, in order to prepare the measures which would be necessary in the case of a European war. Of course, in case of war, we should openly recognise these secret allies; and, on the conclusion of peace, we should secure to them

the advantages which they had gained. These aims are capable of realisation. The first attempt, which was made some years ago, opened up for us the desired relations. Unfortunately these relations were not sufficiently consolidated. Whether we like it or not, it will be necessary to resort to preparations of this kind, in order to bring a campaign rapidly to a conclusion.

Risings provoked in time of war by political agents need to be carefully prepared and by material means. They must break out simultaneously with the destruction of the means of communication; they must have a controlling head to be found among the influential leaders, religious or political. The Egyptian School is particularly suited to this purpose; more and more it serves as a bond between the intellectuals of the Mohammedan world.

However this may be, we must be strong in order to annihilate at one powerful swoop our enemies in the east and west. But in the next European war it will also be necessary that the small States should be forced to follow us or be subdued. In certain conditions their armies and their fortified places can be rapidly conquered or neutralised; this would probably be the case with Belgium and Holland, so as to prevent our enemy in the west from gaining territory which they could use as a base of operations against our flank. In the north we have nothing to fear from Denmark or Scandinavia, especially as in any event we shall provide for the concentration of a strong northern army, capable of replying to any menace from this direction. In the most unfavourable case, Denmark might be forced by Great Britain to abandon her neutrality; but by this time the decision would already have been reached both on land and on sea. Our northern army, the strength of which could be largely increased by Dutch formations, would oppose a very active defence to any offensive measures from this quarter.

In the south, Switzerland forms an extremely solid bulwark, and we can rely on her energetically defending her neutrality against France, and thus protecting our flank.

As was stated above, the situation with regard to the

small States on our north-western frontier cannot be viewed in quite the same light. This will be a vital question for us, and our aim must be to take the offensive with a large superiority from the first days. For this purpose it will be necessary to concentrate a large army, followed up by strong Landwehr formations, which will induce the small States to follow us or at least to remain inactive in the theatre of operations, and which would crush them in the event of armed resistance. If we could induce these States to organise their system of fortification in such a manner as to constitute an effective protection for our flank, we could abandon the proposed invasion. But for this, army reorganisation, particularly in Belgium, would be necessary in order that it might really guarantee an effective resistance. If, on the contrary, their defensive organisation was established against us, thus giving definite advantages to our adversary in the west, we could in no circumstances offer Belgium a guarantee for the security of her neutrality. Accordingly, a vast field is open to our diplomacy to work in this country on the lines of our interests.

The arrangements, made with this end in view, allow us to hope that it will be possible to take the offensive immediately after the complete concentration of the army of the Lower Rhine. An ultimatum with a short time-limit, to be followed immediately by invasion, would allow a sufficient justification for our action in international law.

Such are the duties which devolve on our army and which demand a striking force of considerable numbers. If the enemy attacks us, or if we wish to overcome him, we will act as our brothers did a hundred years ago; the eagle thus provoked will soar in his flight, will seize the enemy in his steel claws and render him harmless. We will then remember that the provinces of the ancient German Empire, the County of Burgundy and a large part of Lorraine, are still in the hands of the French; that thousands of brother Germans in the Baltic Provinces are groaning under the Slav yoke. It is a national question that Germany's former possessions should be restored to her.

M. Allizé, French Minister in Bavaria, to M. Stéphen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Munich, July 10, 1913.

From a political point of view people are asking what is the object of the new armaments. Recognising that no one threatens Germany, they consider that German diplomacy had already at its disposal forces sufficiently large and alliances sufficiently powerful to protect German interests with success. As I pointed out the day after the Morocco Agreement of 1911, it is thought that the Imperial Chancery will be as incapable in the future, as in the past, of adopting an active foreign policy and of achieving, at least in this sphere, successes which would justify the burdens which the nation has assumed.

This frame of mind is all the more a cause of anxiety as the Imperial Government would find themselves supported by public opinion in any enterprise on which they might energetically embark, even at the risk of a conflict. The state of war to which all the events in the east have accustomed people's minds for the last two years appears no longer like some distant catastrophe, but as a solution of the political and economic difficulties which will continue to increase.

May the example of Bulgaria exercise a salutary influence on Germany. As the Prince Regent recently said to me, "The fortune of war is always uncertain; every war is an adventure, and the man is a fool who risks it believing himself sure of victory."

ALLIZÉ.

Report to M. Stéphen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, on Public Opinion in Germany, according to the Reports of the Diplomatic and Consular Agents.

Paris, July 30, 1913.

People sometimes speak of a military party in Germany. The expression is inaccurate, even if it is intended to convey

the idea that Germany is the country where military power is supreme, as it is said of France that it is the country where the civil power is supreme. There exists a state of mind which is more worthy of attention than this historical fact, because it constitutes a danger more evident and more recent. There is a war party, with leaders, and followers, a press either convinced or subsidised for the purpose of creating public opinion; it has means both varied and formidable for the intimidation of the Government. It goes to work in the country with clear ideas, burning aspirations, and a determination that is at once thrilling and fixed.

Those in favour of war are divided into several categories, each of these derives from its social caste, its class, its intellectual and moral education, its interests, its hates, special arguments which create a general attitude of mind and increase the strength and rapidity of the stream of warlike desire.

Some want war because in the present circumstances they think it is *inevitable*, and, as far as Germany is concerned, the sooner the better.

Others regard war as necessary for economic reasons based on over-population, over-production, the need for markets and outlets; or for social reasons, *i.e.* to provide the outside interests that alone can prevent or retard the rise to power of the democratic and socialist masses. . . .

Historians, philosophers, political pamphleteers and other apologists of German *Kultur* wish to impose upon the world a way of thinking and feeling specifically German. They wish to wrest from France that intellectual supremacy which, according to the clearest thinkers, is still her possession. . . .

We come finally to those whose support of the war policy is inspired by rancour and resentment. These are the most dangerous. They are recruited chiefly among diplomatists. . . .

Must war then be considered as inevitable?

It is hardly likely that Germany will take the risk if France can make it clear to the world that the *Entente*

Cordiale and the Russian alliance are not mere diplomatic fictions but realities which exist and will make themselves felt. The British fleet inspires a wholesome terror. It is well known, however, that victory on sea will leave everything in suspense. On land alone can a decisive issue be obtained.

As for Russia, even though she carries greater weight in political and military circles than was the case three or four years ago, it is not believed that her co-operation will be sufficiently rapid and energetic to be effective.

People's minds are thus getting used to consider the next war as a duel between France and Germany.

*M. Jules Cambon, French Ambassador at Berlin, to
M. Stéphen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Berlin, November 22, 1913.

I have received from an absolutely reliable source an account of a conversation which took place a fortnight ago between the Emperor and the King of the Belgians, in the presence of the Chief of the General Staff—General von Moltke. This conversation, it appears, has made a profound impression on King Albert. I am in no way surprised at the impression he gathered, which corresponds with what I have myself felt for some time. Enmity against us is increasing, and the Emperor has ceased to be the friend of peace.

The Emperor's interlocutor had thought up till then, as did all the world, that William II, whose personal influence had been exerted on many critical occasions in support of peace, was still in the same state of mind. He found him this time completely changed. The German Emperor is no longer in his eyes the champion of peace against the warlike tendencies of certain parties in Germany. William II has come to think that war with France is inevitable, and that it must come sooner or later. Naturally he believes in the crushing superiority of the German army and in its certain success.

General von Moltke spoke exactly in the same strain as his sovereign. He, too, declared war to be necessary and inevitable, but he showed himself still more assured of success: "For," he said to the King, "this time the matter must be settled, and your Majesty can have no conception of the irresistible enthusiasm with which the whole German people will be carried away when that day comes." . . .

For the rest, the Emperor William is less master of his impatience than is usually supposed. I have known him more than once to allow his real thoughts to escape him. Whatever may have been the object of the conversation related to me, the revelation is none the less of extreme gravity. It tallies with the precariousness of the general situation and with the state of a certain shade of public opinion in France and Germany.

If I may be allowed to draw a conclusion, I would submit that it would be well to take account of this new factor, namely, that the Emperor is becoming used to an order of ideas which were formerly repugnant to him, and that, to borrow from him a phrase which he likes to use, "we must keep our powder dry."

JULES CAMBON.

Indeed both the "situation" and the temperament of the people made war inevitable.

"If war, and a war of conquest, was considered from all time by Germany as a sacred right of the nations, if the expansion of Germanism appeared to her as a superior mission at the same time as an economic necessity, if the present state of the world rendered this expansion difficult for the future outside Europe, without provoking conflicts, in which Germany would not be able to make use of the whole of her power, it was logical that, in order to realise what she considered to be a right and a duty, Germany should let loose on Europe this world-war which alone would permit her to solve at the same time all the questions in suspense." ¹

¹ *L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, p. 83.³

"It would be unjust to attribute the responsibility of 1914 to the Emperor William, to the Crown Prince or to any political or social coterie in Prussia, or to look for any particular person as responsible for the repeated violations of the rights of nations or international law such as have been committed during this war by the German troops. The fact is, that the whole of the German people were awaiting for two generations at least, as they might have been looking for a Messiah, the moment when a world-war would allow them to repair the 'injustice of international treaties' (see Tannenbergh, *Gross-Deutschland*, pp. 23, 88). Imbued with the idea that for the Fatherland everything is permitted, that might is above right or rather creates it, and that the duty of the strong is to employ every possible means to reduce or eliminate the weak, their people, having become an armed nation, has merely transformed into action the conceptions which have been passed down to it from one generation to another, and inculcated into the mind of every individual from his childhood. The logic natural to the masses has in this case strengthened the effects of superior organisation in such a way that from the Commander-in-Chief down to the last 'Landwehrsmann,' or from 'His Excellency' down to the humblest teacher, there is from this point of view in Germany at the present day, the most remarkable national unanimity. It is to the nation to which one must look; for the nation is itself responsible for the principles of its civilisation."¹

"From the year 1890 onwards it became generally more and more impossible for a German to have his eyes not forcibly focussed upon the glories of the House of Hohenzollern, of Prussian victories, and the commercial glories of the German Empire under the Prussian hegemony. It has become increasingly difficult, it has become almost impossible for a German child to have any sense of the relative values to the world of the progress or the exploits of any other nation. Since 1890 it has been rendered impossible for any German child to echo Bismarck's phrase:

¹ *L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, pp. 61-2.

'Germany is great, but the world is greater than Germany'; for the German child is taught to think that though the universe may be great and important, greater and more important are the German Empire and its destinies."¹

"The speeches of public men, from the Kaiser downwards, the proceedings of Parliament, the newspapers and periodicals, the lectures of professors, the works of historians, the schemes of commercial enterprise, the scale of military preparation, the building of great canals and railways, the scale of armaments, the very type and capacity of the ships and airships, have made it abundantly clear for many years what Germany aimed at and how she proposed to secure it. There is nothing in all history of the same character, or conceived on the same vastness, or prepared with the same scientific completeness and thoroughness, as this German scheme for world-power."²

Only two things were wanting, the "psychological moment" spoken of by Bernhardi, and some sort of pretext for the "attack." Germany believed that the "psychological moment" and consequently the moment for action had come in the spring of 1914. She thought that England was on the verge of civil war over the Irish question. She had been advised by her agents and spies distributed over India, Egypt, and the British Colonies that they had succeeded in preparing the populations for revolt, and she believed that the French and Russian people were divided like the English, against themselves, and that their armies were disorganised.³

"The Anglo-Irish difficulties, the Canadian-Hindu troubles, the sensational disclosures in the French Chamber as to the bad condition of the army, the alleged deficiencies in the French aeroplane squadrons, the only partial recovery

¹ Ford Madox Hueffer, *When Blood is their Argument*, pp. 211-12.

² Sir P. Fitzpatrick, *Germany's Designs on South Africa*, pp. 65-6.

³ "Occasione discordiæ nostræ et civilium armorum . . . Gallias affectavere" (*Profiting by our discord and civil strife, they [the Germans] aspired to the conquest of the provinces of Gaul*). Tacitus, *Germania*, 37.

of Russia from the effects of the Japanese war, the exhaustion of the Balkan States themselves from their recent wars, even the preoccupation of the United States with troubles in Mexico, all seemed to preclude the chance of a general interference.”¹

The following is the situation that Tannenberg, writing in 1911, predicted would ensue on the outbreak of the Great War—

“The occupation of Prague by the Germans is followed by a declaration of war by France. On the same day Russia decrees the mobilisation of her armies. England awaits developments. Things never go better with England than when the Powers of Continental Europe are waging war against one another. To furnish the two parties with arms and provisions is a harvest that she has not been able to reap for a long time. England will be careful not to lose, by declaring either for one party or the other, so exceptional an opportunity of augmenting her riches. When peace is concluded, she will know how to put herself in the front. She remembers that the war of 1870-71 enabled her to seize Egypt, and she hopes that the foundation of Greater Germany will mean to her a new increase of power. . . . Germany will send against Russia an army of a million soldiers. The struggle will take place in the Baltic Provinces. . . . The Russians will gradually abandon these territories, that in population are foreign to them, and will retire on Moscow; but the German armies will not follow them in the forests and marshes of Russia. They will be content to occupy the territories which we may be sure will be permanently acquired. It is to the west that Germany will send the greater part of her forces. Eight days after the declaration of war by France, four millions of German soldiers will cross what, until now, has formed the eastern frontier of this country. The news from the east, including the declaration of war by the Japanese (against Russia), the insurrection of the Poles and the revolution in Russia which again makes its appearance

¹ *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, pp. 135-6. See also *Pan-Germanism*, by Professor Usher.

—all these circumstances crush in France the courage which she showed at the beginning of the war in 1870. . . . Forty years of Republican régime have ended by depriving the French youth of its last remnant of warlike zeal, of the spirit of sacrifice and of subordination. Nobody now wishes to sacrifice his ego to the demands of duty. Folly and cowardice rival each other. The suspicion of treachery again arises in the soul of the French soldier. The fortresses, from which the French expected so much, no longer resist the attacks of the German airship. . . .

"The north and east of France are occupied. After a success achieved by the German fleet. . . . Paris does not even attempt to defend itself. . . . Italy declares war on France, and it becomes certain that England will never think of taking an active part in the struggle. Wares paid for in good money—cannons, guns and munitions—yes, but soldiers, no. Where could she get them, if she wanted to send them? India is only waiting for the propitious moment to shake off the English yoke. The Hindu students of Bengal assassinate the high English functionaries. In Egypt there is a like crisis. The cry of the dervishes is heard afar, 'Egypt for the Egyptians!' In the newspapers of Australia, people discuss what will be the best thing to do in case of England's defeat—to group the Australian States together in an autonomous confederation, or attach them to the United States of America on account of the open threats of Japan. Canada finds itself in the presence of similar circumstances, and the newspapers give every day details as to the disquieting increase in the number of Mongolians established at Vancouver and in British Columbia. The King and the English Parliament congratulate themselves that they have to take no part in the struggle.

"The French nation is seized with profound discouragement. All their hopes disappear. Russia has failed them. The Czech lion lies on the ground garotted, guarded by the men of the German Landwehr. . . . Italy occupies the Savoy, Nice and Corsica. England and America talk of business, but not of fighting.

"Events follow one another rapidly. The Germans besiege St. Petersburg . . . the Germans occupy Paris and advance along the Loire. Holland and Belgium request to be admitted into the German Empire as confederate States with all their colonies. The offer is accepted, but not without reserves. Who would think of preventing victorious Germany from declaring these countries part of the Empire unconditionally? Questions of detail as to their admission will form the subject of subsequent discussions at Berlin. One thing is certain, and that is that the colonies of these two States, for motives of general right, must become, not the private property of a confederate State, but part of the colonial dominion of the whole Empire. . . . Peace negotiations with France will take place at Brussels, which town in future will be called 'Brussel.' The ancient Brussels will disappear for ever. The war must leave the conquered nothing but eyes with which to weep. Modesty on our part would be pure folly."¹

Elsewhere, with reference to the future conquest of Britain, the same writer says: "We shall not have to deal with the whole of the Anglo-Saxon race, but only with England. The United States are a country in themselves. Perhaps even they would be in our favour, because they must realise that after England had been defeated they would have the leadership of the Anglo-Saxon race in the Colonies. . . . And moreover, the support of the Colonies is a very doubtful matter. If England goes under in the European war the English Colonies will show the greatest eagerness to detach themselves from the Mother Country and institute a home government. The United States will occupy Canada, which is their neighbour; the South Africans will become Boers; Australia and New Zealand will form a Republic on the model of the United States. England knows perfectly well what she has to expect from her Colonies. England is defending in the Colonies the money that she has put there. The inhabitants of the

¹ *Gross-Deutschland*, pp. 234-7. One is forcibly reminded of a certain story in *The Arabian Nights*, that of "The Barber's Fifth Brother."

Colonies have but little interest in her. Their own affairs come first. For Australia and Canada the Mongolian question is more important than all the European wars into which England might be drawn.”¹

But for the present the best course would be to bribe England to stand aside.² Nothing would be easier, as Tannenberg thought. “It is England’s treachery to which she owes her greatness. I admire England and her policy. One of the means to which she has recourse, in the application of this principle of treachery, is the frequent change of the party in power. When an enemy nation offers more than a friendly one, the Ministry resigns, the King sends the statesmen about their business and orders new elections. Then the other party is victorious. A new Ministry comes into power and institutes a new policy. . . . The English are first-rate men of business! How would it be, then, if we try to make it clear once more that a change of policy would be advantageous to them. In order to effect that, all we have to do is to bid higher than our adversary France. I only mention France because, in the general opinion of the German people, it is to France that we must look for the origin of all the evils of which we have been victims for the last forty years. Our other adversaries are only the borrowers and obedient debtors of the universal banker. King Edward the Irreconcilable is dead! Long live George V! It may be that he will try something else.”³

The circumstances which appeared to authorise the belief in Germany that the time for action had come, have been well described by Dr. Dillon. He points out the falsity of the conclusions she drew from those circumstances, with regard to England, in the following words—

“In all these close calculations the decisive element of national character was left out, with the consequences we see. Despite their powers of observation and analysis, the Germans, even those who are gifted and experienced,

¹ *Gross-Deutschland*, pp. 178-9.

² An attempt was actually made, see p. 91.

³ *Gross-Deutschland*, pp. 192-3.

are devoid of some indefinable inner sense, without which they must ever lack true insight into the soul-stuff, the dormant qualities of the people whose wrath they have wantonly aroused. To the realm of British thought and feeling they, with their warped psychological equipment, find no access. Its secondary characteristics they grasp with their noted thoroughness and seek to practise upon with their traditional cynicism. But the deeper springs of our race-character, its clear-souled faith, its masculine vigour, and its vast reserve of elemental force, lie beyond their narrow range of vision. To the sentient and perceptive powers even of the most acute German observer, the workings of the British soul, its inherited nobilities, its deep moral feelings, are inaccessible. . . . Herr von Kuhlmann in particular had made a complete survey of the situation in Ireland, and his exhaustive report was corroborated by emphatic statements of a like tenor received from independent witnesses, whose duty it was to collect data on the spot. Utterances of public men and influential private individuals in the country were reported in full. Plans, dates, numbers, were set down with scrupulous care. . . . Even the suffragette movement was included in this comprehensive survey, and was classed among the fetters which must handicap the British Cabinet, should it display any velleity to join hands with France and Russia.”¹

“The blundering incapacity of the Kaiser’s counsellors and servants in statecraft at Berlin and in foreign capitals committed Germany to a war against the joined might of England, France and Russia. . . .

“Wilhelm II was wretchedly served at Vienna by an Ambassador blinded by Russophobia; at St. Petersburg by another who advised his Home Government that Russia would not go to war; and at London by the muddling Lichnowsky, whose first guesses were commonly wrong and his second too late to be serviceable. Germany literally forced an alliance for this war between England and Russia, two Powers often antagonistic in the past and having now no common interest save the curbing of

¹ *A Scrap of Paper*, pp. 143-4.

Germany. The terrible misjudgment of the General Staff hurled Germany headlong into the pit that incompetent diplomacy had prepared. The Empire went to war with three great nations able to meet her with forces more than double her own.”¹

The German newspaper *Der Tag*² confesses the blunder in the following words—

“So many of our calculations have deceived us. We expected that British India would rise when the first shot was fired in Europe, but in reality thousands of Indians came to fight with the British against us. We anticipated that the whole British Empire would be torn to pieces, but the Colonies appear to be closer united than ever with the Mother Country. We expected a triumphant rebellion in South Africa, yet it turned out nothing but a failure. We expected trouble in Ireland, but, instead, she sent her best soldiers against us. We anticipated that the party of ‘peace at any price’ would be dominant in England, but it melted away in the ardour to fight against Germany. We reckoned that England was degenerate and incapable of placing any weight in the scale, but she seems to be our principal enemy.

“The same has been the case with France and Russia. We thought that France was depraved and divided, and we found that she is a formidable opponent. We believed that the Russian people were far too discontented to fight for their Government,³ and we made our plans on the supposition of a rapid collapse of Russia; but, instead, she mobilised her millions quickly and well, and her people are full of enthusiasm, and their power is crushing. Those who led us into all these mistakes and miscalculations have laid upon themselves a heavy responsibility.”

Thus it was hoped and believed in Germany that England

¹ *The New York Times*, December 15, 1914.

² Quoted in *The Times* of April 16, 1915.

³ “It is clear that Austria did not at first believe that Russia would or could fight. On July 24 the German Ambassador at Vienna told our own Ambassador that this was also Germany’s opinion.”—T. A. Cook, *Kaiser, Krupp and Kultur*, p. 131.

would stand aloof until France and Russia had been disposed of. It was realised that Germany's navy was not yet in a position to cope successfully with that of Great Britain. It was still felt that under present circumstances "the last settlement, the settlement with England," as Professor Treitschke wrote, "would probably be the lengthiest and most difficult."¹ But when the countries of Continental Europe had been practically reduced to German dependencies; when Calais, Cherbourg, and Antwerp had been converted into German ports and fortresses, the days of the British Empire would be numbered.

¹ *Deutsche Kämpfe*.

III

THE PRETEXT

So in the spring the final details of the preparations were seen to. During March, April and May, large numbers of horses were bought in Ireland and various parts of unsuspecting England, and exported to Germany. Large quantities of grain were shipped to Hamburg for the use of the troops, and mobilisation was already secretly begun, in the early summer, both in Germany and Austria.

The "pretext" was furnished by the murder of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand and his morganatic wife, at Sarajevo, on Austrian territory, on June 28, 1914, by two Bosniaks, *both Austrian subjects*. One of them, according to a statement made by the Serbian Minister in London to the British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had been previously regarded as a dangerous character by the Serbian authorities, who had accordingly wished to expel him from Serbia; but he was protected by the Austrian authorities on the plea that he was an innocent and harmless person. According to a statement made by the German Socialist leader, Herr Liebknecht, in the Reichstag, on March 16, 1915—amid great tumult—there were wide circles in Germany and Austria who regarded the Sarajevo murder as a "gift from God," so opportunely did it occur.

The Austrian Government, supported beyond all doubt by the German Government, elected to fix the responsibility for this crime, *committed by Austrian subjects*, on the Serbian Government, and on July 23 sent them an ultimatum, requiring them to make a humiliat-

ing declaration, of which the following were the principal clauses:—

“The Royal Serbian Government undertake—

“To remove from the military service, and from the administration in general, all officers and functionaries guilty of propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, whose names and deeds the Austro-Hungarian Government reserve to themselves the right of communicating to the Royal Government: To accept the collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Government for the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy: To take judicial proceedings against accessories to the plot of June 28 who are on Serbian territory. Delegates of the Austro-Hungarian Government will take part in the investigation relating thereto.”

Serbia was thus summoned to admit that she had participated in a crime with which, so far as any evidence went, she had had nothing to do; to dismiss all her leading men, soldiers or statesmen, who might stand in the way of Austria's plans, and to allow Austrian delegates to sit in Serbian tribunals. She was, in fact, required to sign away her independence and acknowledge herself as Austria's vassal, or submit to the consequences of her refusal. In her helplessness—in the hope of saving herself from the horrors of invasion by a ruthless enemy—she replied, within the appointed time of forty-eight hours, practically accepting all the terms of the ultimatum with one reservation, namely, that: “As regards the participation in this inquiry of Austro-Hungarian agents or authorities, appointed for this purpose by the Imperial and Royal Government [of Austria], the Royal Government [of Serbia] cannot accept such an agreement, as it would be a violation of the constitution and of the law of criminal procedure.” And it was added that: “If the Imperial and Royal Government are not satisfied with this reply, the Serbian Government, considering that it is not to the common interest to precipitate the solution of this question, are ready, as always, to accept a pacific understanding, either

by referring this question to the decision of the International Tribunal of the Hague or to the Great Powers who took part in the drawing up of the Declaration made by the Serbian Government on the 18th (31st) March, 1909."

This reply was couched in the most conciliatory and humble terms; but the Austrian Government preferred to consider it unsatisfactory. The gravity of the situation lay in the fact that, on the one hand, Austria was being supported, if not directly encouraged, by her ally and virtual dictatress, Germany, while on the other, an appeal by Serbia to the Tsar of Russia as the Protector of the Slav interests could not be without avail; and France was in close alliance with Russia.¹ The Crown Prince of Serbia had already, on the 24th July, telegraphed to the Tsar: "We may be attacked at the expiration of the time-limit by the Austro-Hungarian army, which is concentrating upon our frontiers. We are unable to defend ourselves, and we beg Your Majesty to come to our aid as soon as possible."

The events which followed, and the efforts which were made by the four Great Powers—England, France, Italy and Russia—to preserve the peace and ward off the appalling catastrophe with which the Central Powers were threatening Europe, may be learnt in brief from the following extracts from the diplomatic correspondence which took place subsequently to the despatch of the ultimatum to Serbia.

¹ The following passage occurs in the German White Book, dated Berlin, 1914: "We were perfectly aware that a possible warlike attitude of Austria-Hungary against Serbia might bring Russia upon the field, and that it might involve us in a war in accordance with our duty as allies. We could not, however, . . . advise our ally to take up a yielding attitude . . . nor deny him our assistance in these trying days." "This statement is particularly important as contradicting the assurance given by Prince Lichnowsky, German Ambassador in London, to Sir E. Grey, that 'the German Government were endeavouring to hold back and moderate the Cabinet of Vienna,' on July 21, 1914. Both are given in the British Official 'Collected Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War,' pp. 151, 406."—H. W. Wilson in the *National Review*, January, 1917.

*M. Jules Cambon, French Ambassador at Berlin, to
M. Bienvenu-Martin, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Berlin, July 24, 1914.

I asked the Secretary of State to-day, in the interview which I had with him, if it was correct, as announced in the newspapers, that Austria had presented a note to the Powers on her dispute with Servia; if he had received it; and what view he took of it.

Herr von Jagow answered me in the affirmative, adding that the note was forcible, and that he approved it, the Servian Government having for a long time past wearied the patience of Austria. Moreover, he considers this question to be a domestic one for Austria, and he hopes that it will be localised.

I then said to him that not having as yet received any instructions, the views which I wished to exchange with him were strictly personal. Thereupon I asked him if the Berlin Cabinet had really been entirely ignorant of Austria's requirements before they were communicated to Belgrade, and as he told me that that was so, I showed him my surprise at seeing him thus undertake to support claims, of whose limit and scope he was ignorant.

Herr von Jagow interrupted me, and said, "It is only because we are having a personal conversation that I allow you to say that to me."

"Certainly," I replied, "but if Peter I humiliates himself, domestic trouble will probably break out in Servia; that will open the door to fresh possibilities, and do you know where you will be led by Vienna?" I added that the language of the German newspapers was not the language of persons who were indifferent to, and unacquainted with, the question, but betokened an active support. Finally, I remarked that the shortness of the time-limit given to Servia for submission would make an unpleasant impression in Europe. . . .

JULES CAMBON.

*M. Paul Cambon, French Ambassador at London, to
M. Bienvenu-Martin, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

London, July 24, 1914.

Sir Edward Grey having discussed with me his desire to leave no stone unturned to avert the crisis, we agreed in thinking that the British Cabinet might ask the German Government to take the initiative in approaching Vienna with the object of offering the mediation, between Austria and Servia, of the four Powers which are not directly interested. If Germany agrees, time will be gained, and this is the essential point.

Sir Edward Grey told me that he would discuss with Prince Lichnowsky the proposal I have just explained. I mentioned the matter to my Russian colleague, who is afraid of a surprise from Germany, and who imagines that Austria would not have despatched her ultimatum without previous agreement with Berlin.

Count Benckendorff told me that Prince Lichnowsky when he returned from leave about a month ago, had intimated that he held pessimistic views regarding the relations between St. Petersburg and Berlin. He had observed the uneasiness caused in this latter capital by the rumours of a naval entente between Russia and Great Britain, by the Tsar's visit to Bucharest, and by the strengthening of the Russian army. Count Benckendorff had concluded from this that a war with Russia would be looked upon without disfavour in Germany.

The Under-Secretary of State has been struck, as all of us have been, by the anxious looks of Prince Lichnowsky since his return from Berlin, and he considers that if Germany had wished to do so she could have stopped the despatch of the ultimatum.

The situation, therefore, is as grave as it can be, and we see no way of arresting the course of events.

However, Count Benckendorff thinks it right to attempt the *démarche* upon which I have agreed with Sir Edward Grey.

PAUL CAMBON.

*M. Jules Cambon, French Minister at Berlin, to
M. Bienvenu-Martin, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Berlin, July 25, 1914.

The Belgian Minister appears very anxious about the course of events.

He is of opinion that Austria and Germany have desired to take advantage of the fact that, owing to a combination of circumstances at the present moment, Russia and England appear to them to be threatened by domestic troubles, while in France the state of the army is under discussion. Moreover, he does not believe in the pretended ignorance of the Government of Berlin on the subject of Austria's *démarche*.

He thinks that if the form of it has not been submitted to the Cabinet at Berlin, the moment of its despatch has been cleverly chosen in consultation with that Cabinet, in order to surprise the Triple Entente at a moment of disorganisation.

He has seen the Italian Ambassador, who has just interrupted his holiday in order to return. It looks as if Italy would be surprised, to put it no higher, at having been kept out of the whole affair by her two allies.

JULES CAMBON.

*M. de Fleuriau, French Chargé d'Affaires at London, to
M. Bienvenu-Martin, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

London, July 25, 1914.

The German Ambassador came to the Foreign Office to state that his Government would refuse to interfere in the dispute between Austria and Servia.

*M. Bienvenu-Martin, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs,
to the French Ambassadors at London, St. Petersburg,
Berlin, Vienna, Rome.*

Paris, July 27, 1914.

The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador came to see me to hand me a memorandum which amounted to an indictment of Servia. . . .

I then called the Ambassador's attention to the fact that Servia had accepted Austria's requirements on practically every point, and that the differences that remained on certain points might vanish with a little mutual goodwill, and with the help of the Powers who wished for peace; by fixing to-morrow as the date for putting her resolution into effect, Austria for the second time was making their co-operation practically impossible, and was assuming a grave responsibility in running the risk of precipitating a war the limits of which it was impossible to foresee.

I enclose for your information the memorandum that Count Scézszen handed to me.

BIENVENU-MARTIN.

*Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 27.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, July 27, 1914.

Your telegram of 26th July.

Secretary of State says that conference you suggest would practically amount to a court of arbitration and could not, in his opinion, be called together except at the request of Austria and Russia. He could not therefore fall in with your suggestion, desirous though he was to co-operate for the maintenance of peace. I said I was sure that your idea had nothing to do with arbitration, but meant that representatives of the four nations not directly interested should discuss and suggest means for avoiding a dangerous situation. He maintained, however, that such a conference as you proposed was not practicable. He added that news he had just received from St. Petersburg showed that there was an intention on the part of M. de Sazonof¹ to exchange views with Count Berchtold.² He thought that this method of procedure might lead to a satisfactory result, and that it would be best, before doing anything else, to

¹ Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

² Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

await outcome of the exchange of views between the Austrian and Russian Governments.

In the course of a short conversation Secretary of State said that as yet Austria was only partially mobilising, but that if Russia mobilised against Germany latter would have to follow suit. I asked him what he meant by "mobilising against Germany." He said that if Russia only mobilised in south, Germany would not mobilise, but if she mobilised in north, Germany would have to do so too, and Russian system of mobilisation was so complicated that it might be difficult exactly to locate her mobilisation. Germany would therefore have to be very careful not to be taken by surprise.

Finally, Secretary of State said that news from St. Petersburg had caused him to take more hopeful view of the general situation.

*Sir M. de Bunsen, British Ambassador at Vienna, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 28.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, July 28, 1914.

I saw Minister for Foreign Affairs this morning.

His Excellency declared that Austria-Hungary cannot delay warlike proceedings against Serbia, and would have to decline any suggestion of negotiations on basis of Servian reply.

Prestige of Dual Monarchy was engaged, and nothing could now prevent conflict.

*Sir Edward Grey to Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador
at Berlin.*

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 28, 1914.

German Government, having accepted principle of mediation between Austria and Russia by the four Powers, if necessary, I am ready to propose that the German Secretary of State should suggest the lines on which this principle

should be applied. I will, however, keep the idea in reserve until we see how the conversations between Austria and Russia progress.

*Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, July 28, 1914.

At invitation of Imperial Chancellor, I called upon his Excellency this evening. He said that he wished me to tell you that he was most anxious that Germany should work together with England for maintenance of general peace, as they had done successfully in the last European crisis. He had not been able to accept your proposal for a conference of representatives of the Great Powers, because he did not think that it would be effective, and because such a conference would in his opinion have had appearance of an "Areopagus" consisting of two Powers of each group sitting in judgment upon the two remaining Powers; but his inability to accept proposed conference must not be regarded as militating against his strong desire for effective co-operation. You could be assured that he was doing his very best both at Vienna and St. Petersburg to get the two Governments to discuss the situation directly with each other and in a friendly way. He had great hopes that such discussions would take place and lead to a satisfactory result, but if the news were true which he had just read in the papers, that Russia had mobilised fourteen army corps in the south, he thought situation was very serious, and he himself would be in a very difficult position, as in these circumstances it would be out of his power to continue to preach moderation at Vienna. He added that Austria, who as yet was only partially mobilising, would have to take similar measures, and if war were to result, Russia would be entirely responsible. I ventured to say that if Austria refused to take any notice of Servian note, which, to my mind, gave way in nearly every point demanded by Austria, and which in any case offered a basis

for discussion, surely a certain portion of responsibility would rest with her. His Excellency said that he did not wish to discuss Servian note, but that Austria's standpoint, and in this he agreed, was that her quarrel with Serbia was a purely Austrian concern with which Russia had nothing to do. He reiterated his desire to co-operate with England and his intention to do his utmost to maintain general peace. "A war between the Great Powers must be avoided" were his last words.

Austrian colleague said to me to-day that a general war was most unlikely, as Russia neither wanted nor was in a position to make war. I think that that opinion is shared by many people here.

*M. Jules Cambon, French Ambassador at Berlin, to
M. Bienvenu-Martin, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Berlin, July 27, 1914.

I had a conversation to-day with the Secretary of State and gave support to the *démarche* which Sir E. Goschen had just made.

Herr von Jagow replied to me, as he had to the British Ambassador, that he could not accept the proposal that the Italian, French and German Ambassadors should be instructed to endeavour to find with Sir Edward Grey a method of resolving the present difficulties, because that would be to set up a real conference to deal with the affairs of Austria and Russia.

I replied to Herr von Jagow that I regretted his answer, but that the great object which Sir Edward Grey had in view went beyond any question of form; that what was important was the co-operation of Great Britain and France with Germany and Italy in a work of peace; that this co-operation could take effect through common *démarches* at St. Petersburg and at Vienna; that he had often expressed to me his regret at seeing the two allied groups always opposed to one another in Europe; that there was here an opportunity of proving that there was a Euro-

pean spirit, by showing four Powers belonging to the two groups acting in common agreement to prevent a conflict.

Herr von Jagow avoided the point by saying that Germany had engagements with Austria. I observed to him that the relations of Germany with Vienna were no closer than those of France with Russia, and that it was he himself who actually was putting the two groups of allies in opposition.

The Secretary of State then said to me that he was not refusing to act so as to keep off an Austro-Russian dispute, but that he could not intervene in the Austro-Servian dispute. "The one is the consequence of the other," I said, "and it is a question of preventing the appearance of a new factor of such a nature as to lead to intervention by Russia."

As the Secretary of State persisted in saying that he was obliged to keep his engagements towards Austria, I asked him if he was bound to follow her everywhere with his eyes blindfolded, and if he had taken note of the reply of Servia to Austria, which the Servian Chargé d'Affaires had delivered to him this morning. "I have not yet had time," he said. "I regret it. You would see that, except on some points of detail, Servia has yielded entirely. It appears then that, since Austria has obtained the satisfaction which your support has procured for her, you might to-day advise her to be content or to examine with Servia the terms of her reply."

As Herr von Jagow gave me no clear reply, I asked him whether Germany wished for war. He protested energetically, saying that he knew what was in my mind, but that it was wholly incorrect. "You must then," I replied, "act consistently. When you read the Servian reply, I entreat you in the name of humanity to weigh the terms in your conscience, and do not personally assume a part of the responsibility for the catastrophe which you are allowing to be prepared." Herr von Jagow protested anew, adding that he was ready to join England and France in a common effort, but that it was necessary to find a form for this

intervention which he could accept, and that the Cabinets must come to an understanding on this point.

JULES CAMBON.

*M. Bienvenu-Martin, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs,
to M. René Viviani, President of the Council on board
the "La France."*

Paris, July 28, 1914.

In spite of the assurances given, both in Berlin and Paris by the German representatives, of the desire of their Government to assist in efforts for the maintenance of peace, no sincere action has been taken by them to hold back Austria; the British proposal, which consists in action by the four less-interested Powers to obtain a cessation of military operations at Vienna, Belgrade, and St. Petersburg, and in a meeting at London of the German, French, and Italian Ambassadors under the chairmanship of Sir E. Grey, with a view of seeking a solution of the Austro-Servian difficulty, meets with objections at Berlin of such a nature as must lead to failure.

The Austrian Ambassador has proceeded to announce that his Government will to-morrow take energetic measures to compel Serbia to give to them the satisfaction and guarantees which they demand from that Power; Count Scézszen has given no explanation as to those measures; according to our Military Attaché at Vienna, mobilisation dating from July 28 appears to be certain.

BIENVENU-MARTIN.

*Sir M. de Bunsen, British Ambassador at Vienna, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, July 28, 1914.

I am informed by the Russian Ambassador that the Russian Government's suggestion has been declined by the Austro-Hungarian Government. The suggestion was to the effect that the means of settling the Austro-Servian conflict should be discussed directly between Russian Min-

ister for Foreign Affairs, and the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburg, who should be authorised accordingly.

The Russian Ambassador thinks that a conference in London of the less interested Powers, such as you have proposed, offers now the only prospect of preserving peace of Europe, and he is sure that the Russian Government will acquiesce willingly in your proposal. So long as opposing armies have not actually come in contact, all hope need not be abandoned.

*M. Dumaine, French Ambassador at Vienna, to
M. Bienvenu-Martin, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Vienna, July 28, 1914.

Count Berchtold has just declared to Sir M. de Bunsen that any intervention, aiming at the resumption of the discussion between Austria and Servia on the basis of the Servian reply, would be useless, and besides that it would be too late, as war had been officially declared at mid-day.

The attitude of my Russian colleague has never varied up to the present; in his opinion it is not a question of localising the conflict, but rather of preventing it. The declaration of war will make very difficult the initiation of *pourparlers* by the four Powers, as well as the continuation of the direct discussions between M. Sazonof and Count Szápáry.

It is held here that the formula which seemed as if it might obtain the adherence of Germany—"Mediation between Austria and Russia"—is unsuitable, inasmuch as it alleges a dispute between those two Empires which does not exist up to the present.

Among the suspicions aroused by the sudden and violent resolution of Austria, the most disquieting is, that Germany should have pushed her on to aggressive action against Servia in order to be able herself to enter into war with Russia and France in circumstances which she supposes ought to be most favourable to herself and under conditions which have been thoroughly considered.

DUMAINE.

*M. Paléologue, French Ambassador at St. Petersburg,
to M. Bienvenu-Martin, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

St. Petersburg, July 28, 1914.

The Austro-Hungarian Government has not yet replied to the proposal of the Russian Government suggesting the opening of direct conversations between St. Petersburg and Vienna.

M. Sazonof received the German and Austro-Hungarian Ambassadors this afternoon. The impression which he got from this double interview is a bad one. "Certainly," he said to me, "Austria is unwilling to converse."

As the result of a conversation which I have just had with my two colleagues I have the same impression of pessimism.

PALÉOLOGUE.

*Telegrams communicated by Count Benckendorff, Russian
Ambassador in London, July 29, 1914.*

(1) *Telegram from M. Sazonof to Russian Ambassador
at Berlin, dated July 28, 1914.*

In consequence of the declaration of war by Austria against Serbia, the Imperial Government will announce tomorrow (29th) the mobilisation in the military circumscriptions of Odessa, Kieff, Moscow and Kazan. Please inform German Government, confirming the absence in Russia of any aggressive intention against Germany.

The Russian Ambassador at Vienna has not been recalled from his post.

(2) *Telegram to Count Benckendorff.*¹

The Austrian declaration of war clearly puts an end to the idea of direct communications between Austria and Russia. Action by London Cabinet in order to set on foot mediation with a view to suspension of military operations of Austria against Serbia is now most urgent.

¹ Russian Ambassador in London.

Unless military operations are stopped, mediation would only allow matters to drag on and give Austria time to crush Serbia.

*Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, July 29, 1914.

I was sent for again to-day by the Imperial Chancellor, who told me that he regretted to state that the Austro-Hungarian Government, to whom he had at once communicated your opinion, had answered that events had marched too rapidly and that it was therefore too late to act upon your suggestion that the Servian reply might form the basis of discussion. His Excellency had, on receiving their reply, despatched a message to Vienna, in which he explained that, although a certain desire had, in his opinion, been shown in the Servian reply to meet the demands of Austria, he understood entirely that, without some sure guarantees that Serbia would carry out in their entirety the demands made upon her, the Austro-Hungarian Government could not rest satisfied in view of their past experience. He had then gone on to say that the hostilities which were about to be undertaken against Serbia had presumably the exclusive object of securing such guarantees, seeing that the Austrian Government already assured the Russian Government that they had no territorial designs.

He advised the Austro-Hungarian Government, should this view be correct, to speak openly in this sense. The holding of such language would, he hoped, eliminate all possible misunderstandings.

As yet, he told me, he had not received a reply from Vienna.

From the fact that he had gone so far in the matter of giving advice at Vienna, his Excellency hoped that you would realise that he was sincerely doing all in his power to prevent danger of European complications.

The fact of his communicating this information to you was a proof of the confidence which he felt in you and evidence of his anxiety that you should know he was doing his best to support your efforts in the cause of general peace, efforts which he sincerely appreciated.

*Sir M. de Bunsen, British Ambassador at Vienna, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, July 29, 1914.

There is at present no step which we could usefully take to stop war with Servia, to which Austro-Hungarian Government are now fully committed by the Emperor's appeal to his people which has been published this morning, and by the declaration of war. French and Italian Ambassadors agree with me in this view. If the Austro-Hungarian Government would convert into a binding engagement to Europe the declaration which has been made at St. Petersburg to the effect that she desires neither to destroy the independence of Servia nor to acquire Servian territory, the Italian Ambassador thinks that Russia might be induced to remain quiet. This, however, the Italian Ambassador is convinced the Austrian Government would refuse to do.

*Sir R. Rodd, British Ambassador at Rome, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, July 29, 1914.

In your telegram of the 27th instant to Berlin, German Ambassador was reported to have accepted in principle the idea of a conference. This is in contradiction with the telegram of the 27th instant from Berlin.

Information received by the Italian Government from Berlin shows that German view is correctly represented

in Sir E. Goschen's telegram of the 27th July, but what creates difficulty is rather the "conference," so the Minister for Foreign Affairs understands, than the principle. He is going to urge, in a telegram which he is sending to Berlin to-night, adherence to the idea of an exchange of views in London. He suggests that the German Secretary of State might propose a formula acceptable to his Government. Minister for Foreign Affairs is of opinion that this exchange of views would keep the door open if direct communication between Vienna and St. Petersburg fails to have any result. He thinks that this exchange of views might be concomitant with such direct communication.

The German Government are also being informed that the Italian Government would not be pardoned by public opinion here unless they had taken every possible step so as to avoid war. He is urging that the German Government must lend their co-operation in this.

He added that there seemed to be a difficulty in making Germany believe that Russia was in earnest. As Germany, however, was really anxious for good relations with ourselves, if she believed that Great Britain would act with Russia and France he thought it would have a great effect.

Even should it prove impossible to induce Germany to take part, he would still advocate that England and Italy, each as representing one group, should continue to exchange views.

*Sir Edward Grey to Sir R. Rodd, British Ambassador
at Rome.*

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 29, 1914.

With reference to your telegram of yesterday.

It is impossible for me to initiate discussions with Ambassadors here, as I understand from Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs that Austria will not accept any discussion on basis of Servian note, and the inference of all I have heard from Vienna and Berlin is that Austria will not accept any form of mediation by the Powers as between Austria and Servia. Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs

must therefore speak at Berlin and Vienna. I shall be glad if a favourable reception is given to any suggestions he can make there.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 29, 1914.

The German Ambassador has been instructed by the German Chancellor to inform me that he is endeavouring to mediate between Vienna and St. Petersburg, and he hopes with good success. Austria and Russia seem to be in constant touch, and he is endeavouring to make Vienna explain in a satisfactory form at St. Petersburg the scope and extension of Austrian proceedings in Servia. I told the German Ambassador that an agreement arrived at direct between Austria and Russia would be the best possible solution. I would press no proposal as long as there was a prospect of that, but my information this morning was that the Austrian Government have declined the suggestion of the Russian Government that the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburg should be authorised to discuss directly with the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs the means of settling the Austro-Servian conflict. The press correspondents at St. Petersburg had been told that Russian Government would mobilise. The German Government had said that they were favourable in principle to mediation between Russia and Austria if necessary. They seemed to think the particular method of conference, consultation or discussion, or even conversations *à quatre* in London too formal a method. I urged that the German Government should suggest any method by which the influence of the four Powers could be used together to prevent war between Austria and Russia. France agreed, Italy agreed. The whole idea of mediation or mediating influence was ready to be put into operation by any method that Germany could suggest if mine was not acceptable. In fact mediation was ready to come into operation by any

method that Germany thought possible if only Germany would "press the button" in the interests of peace.

*Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, July 29, 1914.

I was asked to call upon the Chancellor to-night. His Excellency had just returned from Potsdam.

He said that should Austria be attacked by Russia a European conflagration might, he feared, become inevitable, owing to Germany's obligations as Austria's ally, in spite of his continued efforts to maintain peace. He then proceeded to make the following strong bid for British neutrality. He said that it was clear, so far as he was able to judge the main principle which governed British policy that Great Britain would never stand by and allow France to be crushed in any conflict there might be. That, however, was not the object at which Germany aimed. Provided that neutrality of Great Britain were certain, every assurance would be given to the British Government that the Imperial Government aimed at no territorial acquisitions at the expense of France should they prove victorious in any war that might ensue.

I questioned his Excellency about the French colonies, and he said that he was unable to give a similar undertaking in that respect. As regards Holland, however, his Excellency said that so long as Germany's adversaries respected the integrity and neutrality of the Netherlands Germany was ready to give His Majesty's Government an assurance that she would do likewise. It depended upon the action of France what operations Germany might be forced to enter upon in Belgium, but when the war was over, Belgian integrity would be respected if she had not sided against Germany.

His Excellency ended by saying that ever since he had been Chancellor the object of his policy had been, as you

were aware, to bring about an understanding with England; he trusted that these assurances might form the basis of that understanding which he so much desired. He had in mind a general neutrality agreement between England and Germany, though it was of course at the present moment too early to discuss details, and an assurance of British neutrality in the conflict which present crisis might possibly produce, would enable him to look forward to realisation of his desire.

In reply to his Excellency's inquiry how I thought his request would appeal to you, I said that I did not think it probable that at this stage of events you would care to bind yourself to any course of action and that I was of opinion that you would desire to retain full liberty.

Our conversation upon this subject having come to an end, I communicated the contents of your telegram of to-day to his Excellency, who expressed his best thanks to you.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir F. Bertie, British Ambassador at Paris.

Foreign Office, July 29, 1914.

SIR,

After telling M. Cambon to-day how grave the situation seemed to be, I told him that I meant to tell the German Ambassador to-day that he must not be misled by the friendly tone of our conversations into any sense of false security that we should stand aside if all the efforts to preserve the peace, which we were now making in common, with Germany, failed. But I went on to say to M. Cambon that I thought it necessary to tell him also that public opinion here approached the present difficulty from a quite different point of view from that taken during the difficulty as to Morocco a few years ago. In the case of Morocco the dispute was one in which France was primarily interested, and in which it appeared that Germany, in an attempt to crush France, was fastening a quarrel on France

on a question that was the subject of a special agreement between France and us. In the present case the dispute between Austria and Servia was not one in which we felt called to take a hand. Even if the question became one between Austria and Russia we should not feel called upon to take a hand in it. It would then be a question of the supremacy of Teuton or Slav—a struggle for supremacy in the Balkans; and our idea had always been to avoid being drawn into a war over a Balkan question. If Germany became involved and France became involved, we had not made up our minds what we should do; it was a case that we should have to consider. France would then have been drawn into a quarrel which was not hers, but in which, owing to her alliance, her honour and interest obliged her to engage. We were free from engagements, and we should have to decide what British interests required us to do. I thought it necessary to say that, because, as he knew, we were taking all precautions with regard to our fleet; and I was about to warn Prince Lichnowsky not to count on our standing aside, but it would not be fair that I should let M. Cambon be misled into supposing that this meant that we had decided what to do in a contingency that I still hoped might not arise.

M. Cambon said that I had explained the situation very clearly. He understood it to be that in a Balkan quarrel, and in a struggle for supremacy between Teuton and Slav, we should not feel called to intervene; should other issues be raised, and Germany and France become involved, so that the question became one of the hegemony of Europe, we should then decide what it was necessary for us to do. He seemed quite prepared for this announcement, and made no criticism upon it.

He said French opinion was calm, but decided. He anticipated a demand from Germany that France would be neutral while Germany attacked Russia. This assurance France, of course, could not give; she was bound to help Russia if Russia was attacked.

I am, &c.,
E. GREY.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir M. de Bunsen, British Ambassador at Vienna.

Foreign Office, July 29, 1914.

SIR,

The Austrian Ambassador told me to-day he had ready a long memorandum, which he proposed to leave, and which he said gave an account of the conduct of Serbia towards Austria, and an explanation of how necessary the Austrian action was.

I said that I did not wish to discuss the merits of the question between Austria and Serbia. The news to-day seemed to me very bad for the peace of Europe. The Powers were not allowed to help in getting satisfaction for Austria, which they might get if they were given an opportunity, and European peace was at stake.

Count Mensdorff¹ said that the war with Serbia must proceed. Austria could not continue to be exposed to the necessity of mobilising again and again, as she had been obliged to do in recent years. She had no idea of territorial aggrandisement, and all she wished was to make sure that her interests were safeguarded.

I said that it would be quite possible, without nominally interfering with the independence of Serbia or taking away any of her territory, to turn her into a sort of vassal State.

Count Mensdorff deprecated this.

In reply to some further remarks of mine, as to the effect that the Austrian action might have upon the Russian position in the Balkans, he said that, before the Balkan war, Serbia had always been regarded as being in the Austrian sphere of influence.

I am, &c.,

E. GREY.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir R. Rodd, British Ambassador at Rome.

Foreign Office, July 29, 1914.

SIR,

The Italian Ambassador made to me to-day a communica-

¹ Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in London.

tion from the Marquis di San Giuliano ¹ suggesting that the German objections to the mediation of the four Powers, a mediation that was strongly favoured by Italy, might be removed by some change in the form of procedure.

I said that I had already anticipated this by asking the German Government to suggest any form of procedure under which the idea of mediation between Austria and Russia, already accepted by the German Government in principle, could be applied.

I am, &c.,
E. GREY.

M. Sazonof, Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Count Benckendorff, Russian Ambassador in London.

*Saint-Petersbourg,
le 16 (29) juillet, 1914.*

(Télégraphique.)

*St. Petersburg,
July 16 (29), 1914.*

(Telegraphic.)

Lors de mon entretien avec l'Ambassadeur d'Allemagne, dont traite mon télégramme précédent, je n'avais pas encore reçu le télégramme du 15 (28) juillet de M. Schébéko.²

Le contenu de ce télégramme constitue un refus du Cabinet de Vienne de procéder à un échange d'idées direct avec le Gouvernement Impérial.

Des lors, il ne nous reste plus qu'à nous en remettre entièrement au Gouvernement britannique pour l'initiative des démarches qu'il jugera utile de provoquer.

At the time of my interview with the German Ambassador, dealt with in my preceding telegram, I had not yet received M. Schébéko's ² telegram of the 15th (28th) July.

The contents of this telegram constitute a refusal of the Vienna Cabinet to agree to a direct exchange of views with the Imperial Government.

From now on, nothing remains for us to do but to rely entirely on the British Government to take the initiative in any steps which they may consider advisable.

¹ Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

² Russian Ambassador at Vienna.

*M. Paléologue, French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to
M. de Bienvenu-Martin, Acting Minister for Foreign
Affairs.*

St. Petersburg, July 29, 1914.

I am now in a position to assure your Excellency that the Russian Government will acquiesce in any measures which France and Great Britain may propose in order to maintain peace. My British colleague is telegraphing to London to the same effect.

PALÉOLOGUE.

*M. Klobukowski, French Minister at Brussels, to
M. Bienvenu-Martin, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Brussels, July 29, 1914.

I report the following impressions of my interview with M. Davignon and with several persons in a position to have exact information. The attitude of Germany is enigmatical and justifies every apprehension; it seems improbable that the Austro-Hungarian Government would have taken an initiative which would lead, according to a pre-conceived plan, to a declaration of war, without previous arrangement with the Emperor William.

The German Government stand "with grounded arms" ready to take peaceful or warlike action as circumstances may require, but there is so much anxiety everywhere that a sudden intervention against us would not surprise anybody here. My Russian and British colleagues share this feeling.

The Belgian Government are taking steps which harmonise with the statement made to me yesterday by M. Davignon that everything will be put in readiness for the defence of the neutrality of the country.

KLOBUKOWSKI.

*Sir M. de Bunsen, British Ambassador at Vienna, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 30.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, July 30, 1914.

Russian Ambassador hopes that Russian mobilisation

will be regarded by Austria as what it is, viz., a clear intimation that Russia must be consulted regarding the fate of Serbia, but he does not know how the Austrian Government are taking it. He says that Russia must have an assurance that Serbia will not be crushed, but she would understand that Austria-Hungary is compelled to exact from Serbia measures which will secure her Slav provinces from the continuance of hostile propaganda from Servian territory.

The French Ambassador hears from Berlin that the German Ambassador at Vienna is instructed to speak seriously to the Austro-Hungarian Government against acting in a manner calculated to provoke a European war.

Unfortunately the German Ambassador is himself so identified with extreme anti-Russian and anti-Servian feeling prevalent in Vienna that he is unlikely to plead the cause of peace with entire sincerity.

Although I am not able to verify it, I have private information that the German Ambassador knew the text of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia before it was despatched and telegraphed it to the German Emperor. I know from the German Ambassador himself that he endorses every line of it.

*Sir G. Buchanan, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg,
to Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 30.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, July 30, 1914.

French Ambassador and I visited Minister for Foreign Affairs this morning. His Excellency said that German Ambassador had told him yesterday afternoon that German Government were willing to guarantee that Servian integrity would be respected by Austria. To this he had replied that this might be so, but nevertheless Serbia would become an Austrian vassal, just as, in similar circumstances, Bokhara had become a Russian vassal. There would be a revolution in Russia if she were to tolerate such a state of affairs.

M. Sazonof ¹ told us that absolute proof was in possession of Russian Government that Germany was making military and naval preparations against Russia—more particularly in the direction of the Gulf of Finland.

German Ambassador had a second interview with Minister for Foreign Affairs at 2 A. M., when former completely broke down on seeing that war was inevitable. He appealed to M. Sazonof to make some suggestion which he could telegraph to German Government as a last hope. M. Sazonof accordingly drew up and handed to German Ambassador a formula in French, of which following is translation—

“If Austria, recognising that her conflict with Servia has assumed character of question of European interest, declared herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum points which violate principle of sovereignty of Servia, Russia engages to stop all military preparations.”

Preparations for general mobilisation will be proceeded with if this proposal is rejected by Austria, and inevitable result will be a European war. Excitement here has reached such a pitch that, if Austria refuses to make a concession, Russia cannot hold back, and now that she knows that Germany is arming, she can hardly postpone, for strategical reasons, converting partial into general mobilisation.

M. Paléologue, French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to M. René Viviani, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

St. Petersburg, July 30, 1914.

M. Sazonof, to whom I communicated your desire that every military measure, that could offer Germany the pretext for general mobilisation should be avoided, answered that in the course of last night the General Staff had suspended all measures of military precaution so that there should be no misunderstanding. Yesterday the Chief of

¹ Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

the Russian General Staff sent for the Military Attaché of the German Embassy and gave him his word of honour that the mobilisation ordered this morning was exclusively directed against Austria.

Nevertheless, in an interview which he had this afternoon with Count Pourtalès, M. Sazonof was forced to the conclusion that Germany does not wish to pronounce at Vienna the decisive word which would safeguard peace. The Emperor Nicholas has received the same impression from an exchange of telegrams which he has just had personally with the Emperor William.

Moreover, the Russian General Staff and Admiralty have received disquieting information concerning the preparations of the German army and navy.

In giving me this information M. Sazonof added that the Russian Government are continuing none the less their efforts towards conciliation. He repeated to me: "I shall continue to negotiate until the last moment."

PALÉOLOGUE.

*M. Paléologue, French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to
M. René Viviani, President of the Council, Minister
for Foreign Affairs.*

St. Petersburg, July 30, 1914.

The German Ambassador came to-night and again urged on M. Sazonof, but in less categorical terms, that Russia should cease her military preparations, and affirmed that Austria would not infringe the territorial integrity of Servia—

"It is not only the territorial integrity of Servia which we must safeguard," answered M. Sazonof, "but also her independence and her sovereignty. We cannot allow Servia to become a vassal of Austria."

M. Sazonof added: "The situation is too serious for me not to tell you all that is in my mind. By intervening at St. Petersburg while she refuses to intervene at Vienna, Germany is only seeking to gain time so as to allow Austria

to crush the little Servian kingdom before Russia can come to its aid. But the Emperor Nicholas is so anxious to prevent war that I am going to make a new proposal to you in his name:

"If Austria, recognising that her dispute with Servia has assumed the character of a question of European interest, declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum the clauses which are damaging to the sovereignty of Servia, Russia undertakes to stop all military preparations."

Count Pourtalès promised to support this proposal with his Government.

In the mind of M. Sazonof, the acceptance of this proposal by Austria would have, as a logical corollary, the opening of a discussion by the Powers in London.

The Russian Government again show by their attitude that they are neglecting nothing in order to stop the conflict.

PALÉOLOGUE.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 30, 1914.

Your telegram of 29th July.

His Majesty's Government cannot for a moment entertain the Chancellor's proposal that they should bind themselves to neutrality on such terms.

What he asks us in effect is to engage to stand by while French colonies are taken and France is beaten so long as Germany does not take French territory as distinct from the colonies.

From the material point of view such a proposal is unacceptable, for France, without further territory in Europe being taken from her, could be so crushed as to lose her position as a Great Power, and become subordinate to German policy.

Altogether apart from that, it would be a disgrace for us to make this bargain with Germany at the expense of

France, a disgrace from which the good name of this country would never recover.

The Chancellor also in effect asks us to bargain away whatever obligation or interest we have as regards the neutrality of Belgium. We could not entertain that bargain either.

Having said so much it is unnecessary to examine whether the prospect of a future general neutrality agreement between England and Germany offered positive advantages sufficient to compensate us for tying our hands now. We must preserve our full freedom to act as circumstances may seem to us to require in any such unfavourable and regrettable development of the present crisis as the Chancellor contemplates.

You should speak to the Chancellor in the above sense, and add most earnestly that the one way of maintaining the good relations between England and Germany is that they should continue to work together to preserve the peace of Europe; if we succeed in this object, the mutual relations of Germany and England will, I believe, be *ipso facto* improved and strengthened. For that object His Majesty's Government will work in that way with all sincerity and good-will.

And I will say this: If the peace of Europe can be preserved, and the present crisis safely passed, my own endeavour will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party, by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia, and ourselves, jointly or separately. I have desired this and worked for it, as far as I could, through the last Balkan crisis, and, Germany having a corresponding object, our relations sensibly improved. The idea has hitherto been too Utopian to form the subject of definite proposals, but if this present crisis, so much more acute than any that Europe has gone through for generations, be safely passed, I am hopeful that the relief and reaction which will follow may make possible some more definite *rapprochement* between the Powers than has been possible hitherto.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir F. Bertie, British Ambassador at Paris.

Foreign Office, July 30, 1914.

SIR,

M. Cambon reminded me to-day of the letter I had written to him two years ago, in which we agreed that, if the peace of Europe was seriously threatened, we would discuss what we were prepared to do. I enclose for convenience of reference copies of the letter in question and of M. Cambon's reply. He said that the peace of Europe was never more seriously threatened than it was now. He did not wish to ask me to say directly that we would intervene, but he would like me to say what we should do if certain circumstances arose. The particular hypothesis he had in mind was an aggression by Germany on France. He gave me a paper, of which a copy is also enclosed, showing that the German military preparations were more advanced and more on the offensive upon the frontier than anything France had yet done. He anticipated that the aggression would take the form of either a demand that France should cease her preparations, or a demand that she should engage to remain neutral if there was war between Germany and Russia. Neither of these things could France admit.

I said that the Cabinet was to meet to-morrow morning, and I would see him again to-morrow afternoon.

I am, &c.,

E. GREY.

ENCLOSURE.

French Minister for Foreign Affairs to M. Cambon, French Ambassador in London.

(Translation.)

<p>L'armée allemande a ses avant-postes sur nos bornes-frontières, hier; par deux fois des patrouilles allemandes ont pénétré sur notre territoire. Nos avant-</p>	<p>The German Army had its advance-posts on our frontiers yesterday; German patrols twice penetrated on to our territory. Our advance-posts are</p>
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postes sont en retraite à 10 kilom. en arrière de la frontière. Les populations ainsi abandonnées à l'attaque de l'armée adverse protestent; mais le Gouvernement tient à montrer à l'opinion publique et au Gouvernement britannique que l'agresseur ne sera en aucun cas la France. Tout le 16^e Corps de Metz renforcé par une partie du 8^e venu de Trèves et de Cologne occupe la frontière de Metz au Luxembourg. Le 15^e Corps d'Armée de Strasbourg a serré sur la frontière. Sous menace d'être fusillés les Alsaciens-Lorrains des pays annexés ne peuvent pas passer la frontière; des réservists par dizaines de milliers sont rappelés en Allemagne; c'est le dernier stade avant la mobilisation: or, nous n'avons appelé aucun réserviste.

Comme vous le voyez, l'Allemagne l'a fait. J'ajoute que toutes nos informations concordent pour montrer que les préparatifs allemands ont commencé samedi,¹ le jour même de la remise de la note autrichienne.

withdrawn to a distance of 10 kilom. from the frontier. The local population is protesting against being thus abandoned to the attack of the enemy's army, but the Government wishes to make it clear to public opinion and to the British Government that in no case will France be the aggressor. The whole 16th corps from Metz, reinforced by a part of the 8th from Treves and Cologne, is occupying the frontier at Metz on the Luxembourg side. The 15th army corps from Strassburg has closed up on the frontier. The inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine are prevented by the threat of being shot from crossing the frontier. Reservists have been called back to Germany by tens of thousands. This is the last stage before mobilisation, whereas we have not called back a single reservist.

As you see, Germany has done so. I would add that all my information goes to show that the German preparations began on Saturday,¹ the very day on which the Austrian note was handed in.

¹ Sic: in original. The actual date of the presentation of the Austrian ultimatum was, in fact, Thursday, July 23. The Servian

Ces éléments, ajoutés à ceux contenus dans mon télégramme d'hier, vous permettent de faire la preuve au Gouvernement britannique de la volonté pacifique de l'un et des intentions agressives de l'autre.

These facts, added to those contained in my telegram of yesterday, will enable you to prove to the British Government the pacific intentions of the one party and the aggressive intentions of the other.

*Sir R. Rodd, British Ambassador at Rome, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 31.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, July 30, 1914.

I learnt from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who sent for me this evening, that the Austrian Government had declined to continue the direct exchange of views with the Russian Government. But he had reason to believe that Germany was now disposed to give more conciliatory advice to Austria, as she seemed convinced that we should act with France and Russia, and was most anxious to avoid issue with us.

He said he was telegraphing to the Italian Ambassador at Berlin to ask the German Government to suggest that the idea of an exchange of views between the four Powers should be resumed in any form which Austria would consider acceptable. It seemed to him that Germany might invite Austria to state exactly the terms which she would demand from Servia, and give a guarantee that she would neither deprive her of independence nor annex territory. It would be useless to ask for anything less than was contained in the Austrian ultimatum, and Germany would support no proposal that might imply non-success for Austria. We might, on the other hand, ascertain from Russia what she would accept, and, once we knew the standpoints of these two countries, discussions could be

reply was dated Saturday, July 25, and it is clearly to the latter document that reference is intended.

commenced at once. There was still time so long as Austria had received no check. He in any case was in favour of continuing an exchange of views with His Majesty's Government if the idea of discussions between the four Powers was impossible.

M. Jules Cambon, French Ambassador at Berlin, to M. René Viviani, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, July 30, 1914.

The British Ambassador has not been informed of Germany's reply to Sir E. Grey's request. He told me that Berlin had consulted Vienna and was still waiting to hear from her ally.

My Russian colleague has just told me that Herr von Jagow (to whom Count Pourtalès had communicated the conciliatory formula suggested by M. Sazanof for an Austro-Russian understanding) had just told him that he found this proposal unacceptable to Austria, thus showing the negative action of German diplomacy at Vienna.

JULES CAMBON.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 31, 1914.

I hope that the conversations which are now proceeding between Austria and Russia may lead to a satisfactory result. The stumbling-block hitherto has been Austrian mistrust of Servian assurances, and Russian mistrust of Austrian intentions with regard to the independence and integrity of Servia. It has occurred to me that, in the event of this mistrust preventing a solution being found by Vienna and St. Petersburg, Germany might sound Vienna, and I would undertake to sound St. Petersburg, whether it would be possible for the four disinterested Powers to offer to Austria that they would undertake to

see that she obtained full satisfaction of her demands on Servia, provided that they did not impair Servian sovereignty and the integrity of Servian territory. As your Excellency is aware, Austria has already declared her willingness to respect them. Russia might be informed by the four Powers that they would undertake to prevent Austrian demands going the length of impairing Servian sovereignty and integrity. All Powers would of course suspend further military operations or preparations.

You may sound the Secretary of State about this proposal.

I said to German Ambassador this morning that if Germany could get any reasonable proposal put forward which made it clear that Germany and Austria were striving to preserve European peace, and that Russia and France would be unreasonable if they rejected it, I would support it at St. Petersburg and Paris, and go the length of saying that if Russia and France would not accept it His Majesty's Government would have nothing more to do with the consequences; but, otherwise, I told German Ambassador that if France became involved we should be drawn in.

You can add this when sounding Chancellor or Secretary of State as to proposal above.

*Sir G. Buchanan, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg,
to Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 31.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, July 31, 1914.

It has been decided to issue orders for general mobilisation. This decision was taken in consequence of report received from Russian Ambassador in Vienna to the effect that Austria is determined not to yield to intervention of Powers, and that she is moving troops against Russia as well as against Servia.

Russia has also reason to believe that Germany is making active military preparations, and she cannot afford to let her get a start.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir F. Bertie, British Ambassador at Paris, and Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 31, 1914.

I still trust that situation is not irretrievable, but in view of prospect of mobilisation in Germany it becomes essential to His Majesty's Government, in view of existing treaties, to ask whether French (German) Government are prepared to engage to respect neutrality of Belgium so long as no other Power violates it.

A similar request is being addressed to German (French) Government. It is important to have an early answer.

*Sir F. Bertie, British Ambassador at Paris, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received July 31.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, July 31, 1914.

At 7 o'clock this evening I was sent for by Minister for Foreign Affairs. When I arrived the German Ambassador was leaving his Excellency.

German Ambassador had informed his Excellency that, in view of the fact that orders had been given for the total mobilisation of Russian army and fleet, German Government have in an ultimatum which they have addressed to the Russian Government required that Russian forces should be demobilised.

The German Government will consider it necessary to order the total mobilisation of the German army on the Russian and French frontiers if within twelve hours the Russian Government do not give an undertaking to comply with German demand.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs asks me to communicate this to you, and inquires what, in these circumstances, will be the attitude of England.

German Ambassador could not say when the twelve hours terminates. He is going to call at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to-morrow (Saturday) at 1 P.M. in order

to receive the French Government's answer as to the attitude they will adopt in the circumstances.

He intimated the possibility of his requiring his passports.

I am informed by the Russian Ambassador that he is not aware of any general mobilisation of the Russian forces having taken place.

Sir G. Buchanan, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to Sir Edward Grey.

(Received August 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, July 31, 1914.

Minister for Foreign Affairs sent for me and French Ambassador and asked us to telegraph to our respective Governments subjoined formula as best calculated to amalgamate proposal made by you in your telegram of 30th July with formula recorded in my telegram of 30th July. He trusted it would meet with your approval:—

“Si l’Autriche consentira à arrêter marche des ses troupes sur le territoire serbe, si, reconnaissant que le conflit austro-serbe a assumé le caractère d’une question d’intérêt européen, elle admet que les Grandes Puissances examinent la satisfaction que la Serbie pourrait accorder au Gouvernement d’Autriche-Hongrie sans laisser porter atteinte à ses droits d’État souverain et à son indépendance, la Russie s’engage à conserver son attitude expectante.”¹

His Excellency then alluded to the telegram sent to German Emperor by Emperor of Russia in reply to the former's telegram. He said that Emperor Nicholas had begun by thanking Emperor William for his telegram and for the hopes of peaceful solution which it held out. His

¹ TRANSLATION.—“If Austria will agree to check the advance of her troops on Servian territory; if, recognising that the dispute between Austria and Servia has assumed a character of European interest, she will allow the Great Powers to look into the matter and determine whether Servia could satisfy the Austro-Hungarian Government without impairing her rights as a sovereign State or her independence, Russia will undertake to maintain her waiting attitude.”

Majesty had then proceeded to assure Emperor William that no intention whatever of an aggressive character was concealed behind Russian military preparations. So long as conversation with Austria continued, His Imperial Majesty undertook that not a single man should be moved across the frontier; it was, however, of course impossible, for reasons explained, to stop a mobilisation which was already in progress.

M. Sazonof¹ said that undoubtedly there would be better prospect of a peaceful solution if the suggested conversation were to take place in London, where the atmosphere was far more favourable, and he therefore hoped that you would see your way to agreeing to this.

His Excellency ended by expressing his deep gratitude to His Majesty's Government, who had done so much to save the situation. It would be largely due to them if war were prevented. The Emperor, the Russian Government, and the Russian people would never forget the firm attitude adopted by Great Britain.

*Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, July 31, 1914.

Your telegram of 31st July.

I spent an hour with Secretary of State urging him most earnestly to accept your proposal and make another effort to prevent terrible catastrophe of a European war.

He expressed himself very sympathetically towards your proposal, and appreciated your continued efforts to maintain peace, but said it was impossible for the Imperial Government to consider any proposal until they had received an answer from Russia to their communication of to-day; this communication, which he admitted had the form of an ultimatum, being that, unless Russia could inform the Imperial Government within twelve hours that

¹ Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

she would immediately countermand her mobilisation against Germany and Austria, Germany would be obliged on her side to mobilise at once.

I asked his Excellency why they had made their demand even more difficult for Russia to accept by asking them to demobilise in south as well. He replied that it was in order to prevent Russia from saying all her mobilisation was only directed against Austria.

His Excellency said that if the answer from Russia was satisfactory he thought personally that your proposal merited favourable consideration, and in any case he would lay it before the Emperor and Chancellor, but he repeated that it was no use discussing it until the Russian Government had sent in their answer to the German demand.

He again assured me that both the Emperor William, at the request of the Emperor of Russia, and the German Foreign Office had even up till last night been urging Austria to show willingness to continue discussions—and telegraphic and telephonic communications from Vienna had been of a promising nature—but Russia's mobilisation had spoilt everything.

*Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, July 31, 1914.

Neutrality of Belgium, referred to in your telegram of 31st July to Sir F. Bertie.

I have seen Secretary of State, who informs me that he must consult the Emperor and the Chancellor before he could possibly answer. I gathered from what he said that he thought any reply they might give could not but disclose a certain amount of their plan of campaign in the event of war ensuing, and he was therefore very doubtful whether they would return any answer at all. His Excellency, nevertheless, took note of your request.

It appears from what he said that German Government

consider that certain hostile acts have already been committed by Belgium. As an instance of this, he alleged that a consignment of corn for Germany had been placed under an embargo already.

I hope to see his Excellency to-morrow again to discuss the matter further, but the prospect of obtaining a definite answer seems to me remote.

In speaking to me to-day the Chancellor made it clear that Germany would in any case desire to know the reply returned to you by the French Government.

*Sir F. Bertie, British Ambassador at Paris, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, July 31, 1914.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Political Director has brought me the reply of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to your inquiry respecting the neutrality of Belgium. It is as follows—

French Government are resolved to respect the neutrality of Belgium, and it would only be in the event of some other Power violating that neutrality that France might find herself under the necessity, in order to ensure defence of her own security, to act otherwise. This assurance has been given several times. President of the Republic spoke of it to the King of the Belgians, and the French Minister at Brussels has spontaneously renewed the assurance to the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day.

M. Klobukowski, French Minister at Brussels, to M. René Viviani, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Brussels, July 31, 1914.

L'Agence Havas having announced that the state "of danger of war" had been declared in Germany, I told M. Davignon that I could assure him that the Government of the Republic would respect the neutrality of Belgium.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that the Government of the King had always thought that this would be so, and thanked me. The Russian Minister and the British Minister, whom I saw subsequently, appeared much pleased that in the circumstances I gave this assurance, which further, as the British Minister told me, was in accordance with the declaration of Sir E. Grey.

KLOBUKOWSKI.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin.

Foreign Office, August 1, 1914.

SIR,

I told the German Ambassador to-day that the reply of the German Government with regard to the neutrality of Belgium was a matter of very great regret, because the neutrality of Belgium affected feeling in this country. If Germany could see her way to give the same assurance as that which had been given by France it would materially contribute to relieve anxiety and tension here. On the other hand, if there were a violation of the neutrality of Belgium by one combatant while the other respected it, it would be extremely difficult to restrain public feeling in this country. I said that we had been discussing this question at a Cabinet Meeting, and as I was authorised to tell him this I gave him a memorandum of it.

He asked me whether, if Germany gave a promise not to violate Belgian neutrality we would engage to remain neutral.

I replied that I could not say that; our hands were still free, and we were considering what our attitude should be. All I could say was, that our attitude would be determined largely by public opinion here, and that the neutrality of Belgium would appeal very strongly to public opinion here. I did not think that we could give a promise of neutrality on that condition alone.

The Ambassador pressed me as to whether I could not formulate conditions on which we would remain neutral.

He even suggested that the integrity of France and her colonies might be guaranteed.

I said that I felt obliged to refuse definitely any promise to remain neutral on similar terms, and I could only say that we must keep our hands free.

I am, &c.,
E. GREY.

*Sir F. Bertie, British Ambassador at Paris, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, August 1, 1914.

I have had conversation with the Political Director, who states that the German Ambassador was informed, on calling at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs this morning, that the French Government failed to comprehend the reason which prompted his communication of yesterday evening. It was pointed out to his Excellency that general mobilisation in Russia had not been ordered until after Austria had declared a general mobilisation, and that the Russian Government were ready to demobilise if all Powers did likewise. It seemed strange to the French Government that in view of this and of the fact that Russia and Austria were ready to converse, the German Government should have at that moment presented an ultimatum at St. Petersburg requiring immediate demobilisation by Russia. There were no differences at issue between France and Germany, but the German Ambassador had made a menacing communication to the French Government and had requested an answer the next day, intimating that he would have to break off relations and leave Paris if the reply were not satisfactory. The Ambassador was informed that the French Government considered that this was an extraordinary proceeding.

The German Ambassador, who is to see the Minister for Foreign Affairs again this evening, said nothing about demanding his passports, but he stated that he had packed up.

*Sir F. Villiers, British Minister at Brussels, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

Brussels, August 1, 1914.

Belgian neutrality.

The instructions conveyed in your telegram of yesterday have been acted upon.

Belgium expects and desires that other Powers will observe and uphold her neutrality, which she intends to maintain to the utmost of her power. In so informing me, Minister for Foreign Affairs said that, in the event of the violation of the neutrality of their territory, they believed, that they were in a position to defend themselves against intrusion. The relations between Belgium and her neighbours were excellent, and there was no reason to suspect their intentions; but he thought it well, nevertheless, to be prepared against emergencies.

*Sir Edward Grey to Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at
Berlin.*

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 1, 1914.

We are informed that authorities at Hamburg have forcibly detained steamers belonging to the Great Central Company and other British merchant-ships.

I cannot ascertain on what grounds the detention of British ships has been ordered.

You should request German Government to send immediate orders that they should be allowed to proceed without delay. The effect on public opinion here will be deplorable unless this is done. His Majesty's Government, on their side, are most anxious to avoid any incident of an aggressive nature, and the German Government will, I hope, be equally careful not to take any step which would make the situation between us impossible.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 1, 1914.

M. De Etter ¹ came to-day to communicate the contents of a telegram from M. Sazonof, ² dated the 31st of July, which are as follows:—

“The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador declared the readiness of his Government to discuss the substance of the Austrian ultimatum to Servia. M. Sazonof replied by expressing his satisfaction, and said it was desirable that the discussions should take place in London with the participation of the Great Powers.

“M. Sazonof hoped that the British Government would assume the direction of these discussions. The whole of Europe would be thankful to them. It would be very important that Austria should meanwhile put a stop provisionally to her military action on Servian territory.”

(The above has been communicated to the six Powers.)

*Sir F. Bertie, British Ambassador at Paris, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, August 1, 1914.

President of the Republic has informed me that German Government were trying to saddle Russia with the responsibility; that it was only after a decree of general mobilisation had been issued in Austria that the Emperor of Russia ordered a general mobilisation; that, although the measures which the German Government have already taken are in effect a general mobilisation, they are not so designated; that a French general mobilisation will become necessary in self-defence, and that France is already forty-eight hours behind Germany as regards German military preparations; that the French troops have orders not to go nearer to the

¹ Counsellor of Russian Embassy in London.

² Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

German frontier than a distance of 10 kilom., so as to avoid any grounds for accusations of provocation to Germany, whereas the German troops, on the other hand, are actually on the French frontier and have made incursions on it; that, notwithstanding mobilisations, the Emperor of Russia has expressed himself ready to continue his conversations with the German Ambassador with a view to preserving the peace; that French Government, whose wishes are markedly pacific, sincerely desire the preservation of peace and do not quite despair, even now, of its being possible to avoid war.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir M. de Bunsen, British Ambassador at Vienna.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 1, 1914.

I saw the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador this morning. He supplied me with the substance of a telegram which the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs had sent to the Austrian Ambassador in Paris. In this telegram his Excellency was given instructions to assure the French Minister for Foreign Affairs that there was no intention in the minds of the Austro-Hungarian Government to impair the sovereign rights of Servia or to obtain territorial aggrandisement. The Ambassador added that he was further instructed to inform the French Minister for Foreign Affairs that there was no truth in the report which had been published in Paris to the effect that Austria-Hungary intended to occupy the sanjak.

Count Mensdorff¹ called again later at the Foreign Office. He informed me of a telegram sent yesterday to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at St. Petersburg by Count Berchtold,² and gave me the substance.

It states that Count Berchtold begged the Russian Ambassador, whom he sent for yesterday, to do his best to remove the wholly erroneous impression in St. Peters-

¹ Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in London.

² Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

burgh that the "door had been banged" by Austria-Hungary on all further conversations. The Russian Ambassador promised to do this. Count Berchtold repeated on this occasion to the Russian Ambassador the assurance which had already been given at St. Petersburg, to the effect that neither an infraction of Servian sovereign rights nor the acquisition of Servian territory was being contemplated by Austria-Hungary.

Special attention was called by Count Mensdorff to the fact that this telegram contains a statement to the effect that conversations at St. Petersburg had not been broken off by Austria-Hungary.

*Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 2.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, August 1, 1914.

Your telegram of to-day.

I have communicated the substance of the above telegram to the Secretary of State, and spent a long time arguing with him that the chief dispute was between Austria and Russia, and that Germany was only drawn in as Austria's ally. If therefore Austria and Russia were, as was evident, ready to discuss matters and Germany did not desire war on her own account, it seemed to me only logical that Germany should hold her hand and continue to work for a peaceful settlement. Secretary of State said that Austria's readiness to discuss was the result of German influence at Vienna, and, had not Russia mobilised against Germany, all would have been well. But Russia by abstaining from answering Germany's demand that she should demobilise, had caused Germany to mobilise also. Russia had said that her mobilisation did not necessarily imply war, and that she could perfectly well remain mobilised for months without making war. This was not the case with Germany. She had the speed and Russia had the numbers, and the safety of the German Empire forbade that Germany should

allow Russia time to bring up masses of troops from all parts of her wide dominions. The situation now was that, though the Imperial Government had allowed her several hours beyond the specified time, Russia had sent no answer. Germany had therefore ordered mobilisation, and the German representative at St. Petersburg had been instructed within a certain time to inform the Russian Government that the Imperial Government must regard their refusal to an answer as creating a state of war.

*Sir G. Buchanan, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg,
to Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 2.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, August 1, 1914.

My telegram of 31st July.

The Emperor of Russia read his telegram to the German Emperor to the German Ambassador at the audience given to his Excellency yesterday. No progress whatever was made.

In the evening M. Sazonof had an interview with the Austrian Ambassador who, not being definitely instructed by his Government, did his best to deflect the conversation towards a general discussion of the relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia instead of keeping to the question of Servia. In reply the Minister for Foreign Affairs expressed his desire that these relations should remain friendly, and said that, taken in general, they were perfectly satisfactory; but the real question which they had to solve at this moment was whether Austria was to crush Servia and to reduce her to the status of a vassal, or whether she was to leave Servia a free and independent State. In these circumstances, while the Servian question was unsolved, the abstract discussion of the relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia was a waste of time. The only place where a successful discussion of this question could be expected was London, and any such discussion was being made impossible by the action of Austria-Hun-

gary in subjecting Belgrade, a virtually unfortified town, to bombardment.

M. Sazonof informed the French Ambassador and myself this morning of his conversation with the Austrian Ambassador. He went on to say that during the Balkan crisis he had made it clear to the Austrian Government that war with Russia must inevitably follow an Austrian attack on Servia. It was clear that Austrian domination of Servia was as intolerable for Russia as the dependence of the Netherlands on Germany would be to Great Britain. It was, in fact, for Russia a question of life and death. The policy of Austria had throughout been both tortuous and immoral, and she thought that she could treat Russia with defiance, secure in the support of her German ally. Similarly the policy of Germany had been an equivocal and double-faced policy, and it mattered little whether the German Government knew or did not know the terms of the Austrian ultimatum; what mattered was, that her intervention with the Austrian Government had been postponed until the moment had passed when its influence would have been felt. Germany was unfortunate in her representatives in Vienna and St. Petersburg: the former was a violent Russophobe who had urged Austria on, the latter had reported to his Government that Russia would never go to war. M. Sazonof was completely weary of the ceaseless endeavours he had made to avoid a war. No suggestion held out to him had been refused. He had accepted the proposal for a conference of four, for mediation by Great Britain and Italy, for direct conversation between Austria and Russia; but Germany and Austria-Hungary had either rendered these attempts for peace ineffective by evasive replies or had refused them altogether. The action of the Austro-Hungarian Government and the German preparations had forced the Russian Government to order mobilisation, and the mobilisation of Germany had created a desperate situation.

M. Sazonof added that the formula of which the text is contained in my telegram of 31st July, had been forwarded by the Russian Government to Vienna, and he would

adhere to it if you could obtain its acceptance before the frontier was crossed by German troops. In no case would Russia begin hostilities first.

I now see no possibility of a general war being avoided unless the agreement of France and Germany can be obtained to keep their armies mobilised on their own sides of the frontier, as Russia has expressed her readiness to do, pending a last attempt to reach a settlement of the present crisis.

*Sir F. Bertie, British Ambassador at Paris, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, August 1, 1914.

The Minister of War again sent for the military attaché this evening, as he said he wished to keep him informed of the situation. He laid great stress on the fact that the zone of 10 kilom., which he had arranged between the French troops and the German frontier, and which was still occupied by peasants, was a proof of the French endeavours to commit no provocative act.

*Sir M. de Bunsen, British Ambassador at Vienna, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 2.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, August 1, 1914.

I am to be received to-morrow by Minister for Foreign Affairs. This afternoon he is to see the French and Russian Ambassadors. I have just been informed by the Russian Ambassador of German ultimatum requiring that Russia should demobilise within twelve hours. On being asked by the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs whether the inevitable refusal of Russia to yield to this curt summons meant war, the German Ambassador replied that Germany would be forced to mobilise if Russia refused. Russian Ambassador at Vienna thinks that war is almost

inevitable, and that as mobilisation is too expensive to be kept for long, Germany will attack Russia at once. He says that the so-called mobilisation of Russia amounted to nothing more than that Russia had taken military measures corresponding to those taken by Germany. There seems to be even greater tension between Germany and Russia than there is between Austria and Russia. Russia would according to the Russian Ambassador, be satisfied even now with assurance respecting Servian integrity and independence. He says that Russia had no intention to attack Austria. He is going again to-day to point out to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that most terrific consequences must ensue from refusal to make this slight concession. This time Russia would fight to the last extremity. I agree with his Excellency that the German Ambassador at Vienna desired war from the first, and that his strong personal bias probably coloured his action here. The Russian Ambassador is convinced that the German Government also desired war from the first.

It is the intention of the French Ambassador to speak earnestly to the Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day on the extreme danger of the situation, and to ask whether proposals to serve as a basis of mediation from any quarter are being considered. There is great anxiety to know what England will do. I fear that nothing can alter the determination of Austro-Hungarian Government to proceed on their present course, if they have made up their mind with the approval of Germany.

M. René Viviani, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the French Ambassadors at London, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, Rome.

Paris, August 1, 1914.

Two *démarches* were made yesterday evening by the Austrian Ambassadors—the one at Paris, which was rather vague, the other at St. Petersburg, precise and conciliatory.

The deduction from these facts is, that Austria would at last show herself ready to come to an agreement, just as the Russian Government is ready to enter into negotiations on the basis of the British proposal.

Unfortunately these arrangements which allowed one to hope for a peaceful solution appear, in fact, to have been rendered useless by the attitude of Germany. This Power has in fact presented an ultimatum giving the Russian Government twelve hours in which to agree to the demobilisation of their forces not only as against Germany, but also as against Austria; this time-limit expires at noon. The ultimatum is not justified, for Russia has accepted the British proposal which implies a cessation of military preparation by all the Powers.

The attitude of Germany proves that she wishes for war. And she wishes for it against France. Yesterday when Herr von Schoen came to the Quai d'Orsay to ask what attitude France proposed to take in case of a Russo-German conflict, the German Ambassador, although there has been no direct dispute between France and Germany, and although from the beginning of the crisis we have used all our efforts for a peaceful solution and are still continuing to do so, added that he asked me to present his respects and thanks to the President of the Republic, and asked that we would be good enough to make arrangements as to him personally (*des dispositions pour sa propre personne*); we know also that he has already put the archives of the Embassy in safety. This attitude of breaking off diplomatic relations without any direct dispute, and although he has not received any definitely negative answer, is characteristic of the determination of Germany to make war against France. The want of sincerity in her peaceful protestations is shown by the rupture which she is forcing upon Europe at a time when Austria had at last agreed with Russia to begin negotiations.

RENÉ VIVIANI.

M. Jules Cambon, French Ambassador at Berlin, to M. René Viviani, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, August 1, 1914.

My Russian colleague received yesterday evening two telegrams from M. Sazonof advising him that the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburg had explained that his Government was ready to discuss the note to Servia with the Russian Government even as to its basis; M. Sazonof answered that in his opinion these conversations should take place in London.

The ultimatum to Russia can only do away with the last chance of peace which these conversations still seemed to leave. The question may be asked whether in such circumstances the acceptance by Austria was serious, and had not the object of throwing the responsibility of the conflict on to Russia.

My British colleague during the night made a pressing appeal to Herr von Jagow's feelings of humanity. The latter answered that the matter had gone too far and that they must wait for the Russian answer to the German ultimatum. But he told Sir Edward Goschen that the ultimatum required that the Russians should countermand their mobilisation, not only as against Germany but also as against Austria; my British colleague was much astonished at this, and said that it did not seem possible for Russia to accept this last point.

Germany's ultimatum coming at the very moment when an agreement seemed about to be established between Vienna and St. Petersburg is characteristic of her warlike policy.

In truth the conflict was between Russia and Austria only, and Germany could only intervene as an ally of Austria; in these circumstances, as the two Powers which were interested as principals were prepared for conversations, it is impossible to understand why Germany should send an ultimatum to Russia instead of continuing like all the other Powers to work for a peaceful solution, unless she desired war on her own account.

J. CAMBON.

M. René Viviani, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the French Ambassadors at London, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Madrid, Constantinople.

Paris, August 2, 1914.

This morning, French territory was violated by German troops at Ciry and near Longwy. They are marching on the fort which bears the latter name. Elsewhere the Custom House at Delle has twice been fired upon. Finally, German troops have also violated this morning the neutral territory of Luxemburg.

You will at once use this information to lay stress on the fact that the German Government is committing itself to acts of war against France without provocation on our part, or any previous declaration of war, whilst we have scrupulously respected the zone of ten kilometres which we have maintained, even since the mobilisation, between our troops and the frontier.

RENÉ VIVIANI.

M. René Viviani, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Representatives of France abroad.

Paris, August 2, 1914.

The Russian Ambassador informs me that Germany has just declared war on Russia, notwithstanding the negotiations which are proceeding, and at a moment when Austria-Hungary was agreeing to discuss with the Powers even the basis of her conflict with Servia.

RENÉ VIVIANI.

*Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 2.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, August 2, 1914.

Secretary of State has just informed me that, owing to certain Russian troops having crossed frontier, Germany and Russia are now in a state of war.

*Sir F. Villiers, British Minister at Brussels, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 2.)

(Telegraphic.)

Brussels, August 2, 1914.

The news that a German force has entered Grand Duchy of Luxemburg has been officially confirmed to the Belgian Government.

Minister of State, Luxemburg, to Sir Edward Grey.

(Received August 2.)

(Translation.)

(Télégraphique.)

(Telegraphic.)

Luxembourg, le 2 août, 1914.

Luxembourg, August 2, 1914.

J'ai l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de votre Excellence les faits suivants :

I have the honour to bring to your Excellency's notice the following facts :

Dimanche, 2 août, de grand matin, les troupes allemandes, d'après les informations qui sont parvenues au Gouvernement Grand ducal à l'heure actuelle, ont pénétré sur le territoire luxembourgeois par les ponts de Wasserbillig et de Remich, se dirigeant spécialement vers le sud du pays et vers la ville de Luxembourg, capitale du Grand Duché. Un certain nombre de trains blindés avec des troupes et des munitions ont été acheminés par la voie de chemin de fer de Wasserbillig à

On Sunday, the 2nd August, very early, the German troops, according to the information which has up to now reached the Grand Ducal Government, penetrated into Luxemburg territory by the bridges of Wasserbillig and Remich, and proceeded particularly towards the south and in the direction of Luxemburg, the capital of the Grand Duchy. A certain number of armoured trains with troops and ammunition have been sent along the railway line from Wasserbillig to Luxemburg, where their arrival is expected. These occur-

Luxembourg, ou l'on s'attend de les voir arriver. D'un instant à l'autre, ces faits impliquent des actes manifestement contraire à la neutralité du Grand Duché garantie par le Traité de Londres de 1867. Le Gouvernement luxembourgeois n'a pas manqué de protester énergiquement contre cette agression auprès des représentants de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Allemagne à Luxembourg. Une protestation identique va être transmise télégraphiquement au Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Étrangères à Berlin.

rences constitute acts which are manifestly contrary to the neutrality of the Grand Duchy as guaranteed by the Treaty of London of 1867. The Luxemburg Government have not failed to address an energetic protest against this aggression to the representatives of His Majesty the German Emperor at Luxemburg. An identical protest will be sent by telegraph to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at Berlin.

M. René Viviani, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to M. Jules Cambon, French Ambassador at Berlin.

(Telegram communicated to French Representatives abroad.)

Paris, August 3, 1914.

I request you to ask for your passports and to leave Berlin at once with the staff of the Embassy, leaving the charge of French interests and the care of the archives to the Spanish Ambassador. I request you at the same time to protest in writing against the violation of the neutrality of Luxemburg by German troops, of which notice has been given by the Prime Minister of Luxemburg; against the ultimatum addressed to the Belgian Government by the German Ministers at Brussels to force upon them the violation of Belgian neutrality, and to require of that country that she should facilitate military operations

against France on Belgian territory; finally against the false allegation of an allied projected invasion of these two countries by French armies, by which he has attempted to justify the state of war which he declares henceforth exists between Germany and France.

RENÉ VIVIANI.

*Sir F. Villiers, British Minister at Brussels, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 3.)

(Telegraphic.)

Brussels, August 3, 1914.

French Government have offered through their military attaché the support of five French army corps to the Belgian Government. Following reply has been sent to-day:—

“We are sincerely grateful to the French Government for offering eventual support. In the actual circumstances, however, we do not propose to appeal to the guarantee of the Powers. Belgian Government will decide later on the action which they may think it necessary to take.”

*Sir Edward Grey to Sir F. Bertie, British Ambassador at
Paris.*

Foreign Office, August 3, 1914.

SIR,

On the 1st instant the French Ambassador made the following communication:—

“In reply to the German Government’s intimation of the fact that ultimatums have been presented to France and Russia, and to the question as to what were the intentions of Italy, the Marquis di San Giuliano replied:—

“The war undertaken by Austria, and the consequences which might result, had, in the words of the German Ambassador himself, an aggressive object. Both were therefore in conflict with the purely defensive char-

acter of the Triple Alliance, and in such circumstances Italy would remain neutral.' ”

In making this communication, M. Cambon was instructed to lay stress upon the Italian declaration that the present war was not a defensive but an aggressive war, and that, for this reason, the *casus fœderis* under the terms of the Triple Alliance did not arise.

I am, &c.,
E. GREY.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 4, 1914.

The King of the Belgians has made an appeal to His Majesty the King for diplomatic intervention on behalf of Belgium in the following terms:—

“Remembering the numerous proofs of your Majesty’s friendship and that of your predecessor, and the friendly attitude of England in 1870 and the proof of friendship you have just given us again, I make a supreme appeal to the diplomatic intervention of your Majesty’s Government to safeguard the integrity of Belgium.”

His Majesty’s Government are also informed that the German Government have delivered to the Belgian Government a note proposing friendly neutrality entailing free passage through Belgian territory, and promising to maintain the independence and integrity of the kingdom and its possessions at the conclusion of peace, threatening in case of refusal to treat Belgium as an enemy. An answer was requested within twelve hours.

We also understand that Belgium has categorically refused this as a flagrant violation of the law of nations.

His Majesty’s Government are bound to protest against this violation of a treaty to which Germany is a party in common with themselves, and must request an assurance that the demand made upon Belgium will not be proceeded

with and that her neutrality will be respected by Germany. You should ask for an immediate reply.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 4, 1914.

I continue to receive numerous complaints from British firms as to the detention of their ships at Hamburg, Cuxhaven, and other German ports. This action on the part of the German authorities is totally unjustifiable. It is in direct contravention of international law and of the assurances given to your Excellency by the Imperial Chancellor. You should demand the immediate release of all British ships if such release has not yet been given.

German Foreign Secretary to Prince Lichnowsky, German Ambassador in London.

(Communicated by German Embassy, August 4.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, August 4, 1914.

Please dispel any mistrust that may subsist on the part of the British Government with regard to our intentions, by repeating most positively formal assurance that, even in the case of armed conflict with Belgium, Germany will, under no pretence whatever, annex Belgian territory. Sincerity of this declaration is borne out by fact that we solemnly pledged our word to Holland strictly to respect her neutrality. It is obvious that we could not profitably annex Belgian territory without making at the same time territorial acquisitions at expense of Holland. Please impress upon Sir E. Grey that German army could not be exposed to French attack across Belgium, which was planned according to absolutely unimpeachable information. Germany had consequently to disregard Belgian neutrality, it being for her a question of life or death to prevent French advance.

*Sir F. Villiers, British Minister at Brussels, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

(Received August 4.)

(Telegraphic.)

Brussels, August 4, 1914.

Military attaché has been informed at War Office that German troops have entered Belgian territory, and that Liège has been summoned to surrender by small party of Germans who, however, were repulsed.

*Sir Edward Grey to Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador
at Berlin.*

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 4, 1914.

We hear that Germany has addressed note to Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs stating that German Government will be compelled to carry out, if necessary, by force of arms, the measures considered indispensable.

We are also informed that Belgian territory has been violated at Gemmenich.

In these circumstances, and in view of the fact that Germany declined to give the same assurance respecting Belgium as France gave last week in reply to our request made simultaneously at Berlin and Paris, we must repeat that request, and ask that a satisfactory reply to it and to my telegram of this morning be received here by twelve o'clock to-night. If not, you are instructed to ask for your passports, and to say that His Majesty's Government feel bound to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany is as much a party as ourselves.

*Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador in Berlin, to
Sir Edward Grey.*

London, August 8, 1914.

SIR,

In accordance with the instructions contained in your telegram of the 4th instant I called upon the Secretary of

State that afternoon and inquired, in the name of His Majesty's Government, whether the Imperial Government would refrain from violating Belgian neutrality. Herr von Jagow¹ at once replied that he was sorry to say that his answer must be "No," as, in consequence of the German troops having crossed the frontier that morning, Belgian neutrality had been already violated. Herr von Jagow again went into the reasons why the Imperial Government had been obliged to take this step, namely, that they had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations and endeavour to strike some decisive blow as early as possible. It was a matter of life and death for them, as if they had gone by the more southern route they could not have hoped, in view of the paucity of roads and the strength of the fortresses, to have got through without formidable opposition entailing great loss of time. This loss of time would have meant time gained by the Russians for bringing up their troops to the German frontier. Rapidity of action was the great German asset, while that of Russia was an inexhaustible supply of troops. I pointed out to Herr von Jagow that his *fait accompli* of the violation of the Belgian frontier rendered, as he would readily understand, the situation exceedingly grave, and I asked him whether there was not still time to draw back and avoid possible consequences, which both he and I would deplore. He replied that, for the reasons he had given me, it was now impossible for them to draw back.

During the afternoon I received your further telegram of the same date, and, in compliance with the instructions therein contained, I again proceeded to the Imperial Foreign Office and informed the Secretary of State that unless the Imperial Government could give the assurance by 12 o'clock that night that they would proceed no further with their violation of the Belgian frontier and stop their advance, I had been instructed to demand my passports and inform the Imperial Government that His Majesty's Government would have to take all steps in their

¹ German Secretary of State.

power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany was as much a party as themselves.

Herr von Jagow replied that to his great regret he could give no other answer than that which he had given me earlier in the day, namely, that the safety of the Empire rendered it absolutely necessary that the Imperial troops should advance through Belgium. I gave his Excellency a written summary of your telegram and, pointing out that you had mentioned 12 o'clock as the time when His Majesty's Government would expect an answer, asked him whether, in view of the terrible consequences which would necessarily ensue, it were not possible even at the last moment that their answer should be reconsidered. He replied that if the time given were even twenty-four hours or more, his answer must be the same. I said that in that case I should have to demand my passports. This interview took place at about 7 o'clock. In a short conversation which ensued Herr von Jagow expressed his poignant regret at the crumbling of his entire policy and that of the Chancellor, which had been to make friends with Great Britain, and then, through Great Britain, to get closer to France. I said that this sudden end to my work in Berlin was to me also a matter of deep regret and disappointment, but that he must understand that under the circumstances and in view of our engagements, His Majesty's Government could not possibly have acted otherwise than they had done.

I then said that I should like to go and see the Chancellor, as it might be, perhaps, the last time I should have an opportunity of seeing him. He begged me to do so. I found the Chancellor very agitated. His Excellency at once began a harangue, which lasted for about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by His Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree; just for a word—"neutrality," a word which in war-time had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her. All his efforts in that di-

rection had been rendered useless by this last terrible step, and the policy to which, as I knew, he had devoted himself since his accession to office had tumbled down like a house of cards. What we had done was unthinkable; it was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants. He held Great Britain responsible for all the terrible events that might happen. I protested strongly against that statement, and said that, in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life and death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of "life and death" for the honour of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagement to do her utmost to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked. That solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could any one have in engagements given by Great Britain in the future? The Chancellor said, "But at what price will that compact have been kept. Has the British Government thought of that?" I hinted to his Excellency as plainly as I could that fear of consequences could hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking solemn engagements, but his Excellency was so excited, so evidently overcome by the news of our action, and so little disposed to hear reason that I refrained from adding fuel to the flame by further argument. As I was leaving he said that the blow of Great Britain joining Germany's enemies was all the greater that almost up to the last moment he and his Government had been working with us and supporting our efforts to maintain peace between Austria and Russia. I said that this was part of the tragedy which saw the two nations fall apart just at the moment when the relations between them had been more friendly and cordial than they had been for years. Unfortunately, notwithstanding our efforts to maintain peace between Russia and Austria, the war had spread and had brought us face to face with a situation which, if we held to our engagements, we could not possibly avoid, and which unfortunately entailed our separation

from our late fellow-workers. He would readily understand that no one regretted this more than I.

After this somewhat painful interview I returned to the embassy and drew up a telegraphic report of what had passed. This telegram was handed in at the Central Telegraph Office a little before 9 P.M. It was accepted by that office, but apparently never despatched.¹

At about 9.30 P.M. Herr von Zimmermann, the Under-Secretary of State, came to see me. After expressing his deep regret that the very friendly official and personal relations between us were about to cease, he asked me casually whether a demand for passports was equivalent to a declaration of war. I said that such an authority on international law as he was known to be must know as well or better than I what was usual in such cases. I added that there were many cases where diplomatic relations had been broken off, and, nevertheless, war had not ensued; but that in this case he would have seen from my instructions, of which I had given Herr von Jagow a written summary, that His Majesty's Government expected an answer to a definite question by 12 o'clock that night and that in default of a satisfactory answer they would be forced to take such steps as their engagements required. Herr Zimmermann said that that was, in fact, a declaration of war, as the Imperial Government could not possibly give the assurance required either that night or any other night.

In the meantime, after Herr Zimmermann left me, a flying sheet, issued by the *Berliner Tageblatt*, was circulated stating that Great Britain had declared war against Germany. The immediate result of this news was the assemblage of an exceedingly excited and unruly mob before His Majesty's Embassy. The small force of police which had been sent to guard the embassy was soon overpowered, and the attitude of the mob became more threatening. We took no notice of this demonstration as long as it was confined to noise, but when the crash of glass and the landing of cobble stones into the drawing-

¹ This telegram never reached the Foreign Office.

room, where we were all sitting, warned us that the situation was getting unpleasant, I telephoned to the Foreign Office an account of what was happening. Herr von Jagow at once informed the Chief of Police, and an adequate force of mounted police, sent with great promptness, very soon cleared the street. From that moment on we were well guarded, and no more direct unpleasantness occurred.

After order had been restored Herr von Jagow came to see me and expressed his most heartfelt regrets at what had occurred. He said that the behaviour of his countrymen had made him feel more ashamed than he had words to express. It was an indelible stain on the reputation of Berlin. He said that the flying sheet circulated in the streets had not been authorised by the Government; in fact, the Chancellor had asked him by telephone whether he thought that such a statement should be issued, and he had replied, "Certainly not, until the morning." It was in consequence of his decision to that effect that only a small force of police had been sent to the neighbourhood of the embassy, as he had thought that the presence of a large force would inevitably attract attention and perhaps lead to disturbances. It was the "pestilential *Tageblatt*," which had somehow got hold of the news, that had upset his calculations. He had heard rumours that the mob had been excited to violence by gestures made and missiles thrown from the embassy, but he felt sure that that was not true (I was able soon to assure him that the report had no foundation whatever), and even if it was, it was no excuse for the disgraceful scenes which had taken place. He feared that I would take home with me a sorry impression of Berlin manners in moments of excitement. In fact, no apology could have been more full and complete.

On the following morning, the 5th August, the Emperor sent one of His Majesty's aides-de-camp to me with the following message:—

"The Emperor has charged me to express to your Excellency his regret for the occurrences of last night, but to tell you at the same time that you will gather from those occurrences an idea of the feelings of his people respecting

the action of Great Britain in joining with other nations against her old allies of Waterloo. His Majesty also begs that you will tell the King that he has been proud of the titles of British Field-Marshal and British Admiral, but that in consequence of what has occurred he must now at once divest himself of those titles."

I would add that the above message lost none of its ascerbity by the manner of its delivery.

On the other hand, I should like to state that I received all through this trying time nothing but courtesy at the hands of Herr von Jagow and the officials of the Imperial Foreign Office. At about 11 o'clock on the same morning Count Wedel handed me my passports—which I had earlier in the day demanded in writing—and told me that he had been instructed to confer with me as to the route which I should follow for my return to England. He said that he had understood that I preferred the route via the Hook of Holland to that via Copenhagen; they had therefore arranged that I should go by the former route, only I should have to wait till the following morning. I agreed to this, and he said that I might be quite assured that there would be no repetition of the disgraceful scenes of the preceding night as full precautions would be taken. He added that they were doing all in their power to have a restaurant car attached to the train, but it was rather a difficult matter. He also brought me a charming letter from Herr von Jagow couched in the most friendly terms. The day was passed in packing up such articles as time allowed.

The night passed quietly without any incident. In the morning a strong force of police was posted along the usual route to the Lehrter Station, while the embassy was smuggled away in taxi-cabs to the station by side-streets. We there suffered no molestation whatever, and avoided the treatment meted out by the crowd to my Russian and French colleagues. Count Wedel met us at the station to say good-bye on behalf of Herr von Jagow and to see that all the arrangements ordered for our comfort had been properly carried out. A retired colonel of the Guards

accompanied the train to the Dutch frontier and was exceedingly kind in his efforts to prevent the great crowds which thronged the platforms at every station where we stopped from insulting us; but beyond the yelling of patriotic songs and a few jeers and insulting gestures we had really nothing to complain of during our tedious journey to the Dutch frontier.

Before closing this long account of our last days in Berlin I should like to place on record and bring to your notice the quite admirable behaviour of my staff under the most trying circumstances possible. One and all, they worked night and day with scarcely any rest, and I cannot praise too highly the cheerful zeal with which counsellor, naval and military attachés, secretaries, and the two young attachés buckled to their work and kept their nerve with often a yelling mob outside and inside hundreds of British subjects clamouring for advice and assistance. I was proud to have such a staff to work with, and feel most grateful to them all for the invaluable assistance and support, often exposing them to considerable personal risk, which they so readily and cheerfully gave to me.

I should also like to mention the great assistance rendered to us all by my American colleague, Mr. Gerard,¹ and his staff. Undeterred by the hooting and hisses with which he was often greeted by the mob on entering and leaving the embassy, his Excellency came repeatedly to see me to ask how he could help us and to make arrangements for the safety of stranded British subjects. He extricated many of these from extremely difficult situations at some personal risk to himself, and his calmness and *savoir-faire* and his firmness in dealing with the Imperial authorities gave full assurance that the protection of British subjects and interests could not have been left in more efficient and able hands.

I have, &c.,
W. E. GOSCHEN.

¹ American Ambassador in Berlin.

IV

THE RESPONSIBILITY: SOME GERMAN AND NEUTRAL VERDICTS

WE believe that to an attentive reader of the above extracts the following facts will be clear:—

(1) That German statesmen were supporting and even encouraging Austria in her designs upon Serbia, although they were well aware that, in so doing, they were provoking a European war.

(2) That it was not, indeed, desired either in Germany or Austria that Serbia should give way to the Austrian demands.

(3) That it was the general opinion that Germany was in a position to influence in any way she chose the counsels of Austria, who for years past had been drifting into a state of vassalage to her.

(4) That Germany sent her ultimatum to Russia and France at the moment when Austria had expressed her approval of the proposal to arbitrate.

(5) That Germany was most anxious that England should stand aside while she struck down her rivals in Europe.

(6) That the only moments when she seemed sincerely desirous of recommending moderation to Austria were when she feared the intervention of England.

(7) That the Allies strove earnestly for peace; that German statesmen themselves acknowledged the efforts of Lord Grey in that connection.¹

(8) That Italy, who was the ally of Germany and Austria and bound to assist them in case they were attacked, considered that in this case she was not called upon

¹ See pp. 88 and 112.

to do so, seeing that they were themselves the aggressors.

And indeed Italy had good reason to look upon them as such, seeing that on another occasion, twelve months previously, Austria had officially communicated to her her intention of provoking a war with Serbia. This fact was disclosed by Signor Giolitti, Italian ex-Premier, in the Chamber of Deputies on December 5, 1914. He stated that on August 9, 1913, Austria confided to Italy that "in common accord with Germany" she was about to deliver an ultimatum to Serbia and that the ultimatum was of substantially the same tenor as that actually sent in July 1914. "The most damning evidence of German duplicity during the close of July, 1914, is afforded by the facts disclosed in the despatches exchanged between the Italian Premier and the Italian Foreign Secretary in August, 1913." ¹

Those who still entertain any doubt as to the guilt of the Central Powers will do well to note the following opinions expressed by men who cannot possibly be accused of bias. Mr. James M. Beck, one of the leaders of the American Bar and late Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, considers that, in this matter, the judgment of an impartial court would be as follows:—

"(1) That Germany and Austria, in a time of profound peace, secretly concerted to impose their will upon Europe in a matter affecting the balance of power. Whether in so doing they intended to precipitate a European war to determine the hegemony of Europe is not satisfactorily established although their whole course of conduct suggests this as a possibility. They made war almost inevitable by (a) issuing an ultimatum that was grossly unreasonable and disproportionate to any grievance that Austria may have had, and (b) in giving to Servia, and Europe, insufficient time to consider the rights and obligations of all interested nations.

¹ *Kaiser, Krupp and Kultur*, p. 28.

“(2) That Germany had at all times the power to induce Austria to preserve a reasonable and conciliatory course, but at no time effectively exerted that influence. On the contrary, it certainly abetted, and possibly instigated, Austria in its unreasonable course.

“(3) That England, France, Italy and Russia, throughout the diplomatic controversy, sincerely worked for peace, and in this spirit not only overlooked the original misconduct of Austria, but made every reasonable concession in the hope of preserving peace.

“(4) That, Austria having mobilised its army, Russia was reasonably justified in mobilising its forces. Such act of mobilisation was the right of any sovereign State, and, as long as the Russian armies did not cross the border or take any aggressive action, no other nation had any just right to complain, each having the same right to make similar preparations.

“(5) That Germany, in abruptly declaring war against Russia for failure to demobilise, when the other Powers had offered to make any reasonable concession and peace parleys were still in progress, precipitated the war.

“(6) That the invasion of Belgium by Germany was without any provocation and in violation of Belgium's inherent rights as a sovereign State. The sanctity of its territory does not depend exclusively upon the Treaty of 1839 or the Hague Convention, but upon fundamental and axiomatic principles of international law. These treaties were simply declaratory of Belgium's rights as a sovereign nation and simply reaffirmed by a special covenant the duty of Germany and the other Powers to respect the neutrality of Belgium.

“(7) England was justified in its declaration of war upon Germany, not only because of its direct interests in the neutrality of Belgium, but also because of the ethical duty of the strong nations to protect the weak upon adequate occasion from indefensible wrong. Apart from this general ethical justification, England was, under the Treaty of 1839, under an especial obligation to defend the

neutrality of Belgium, and had it failed to respect that obligation it would have broken its solemn covenant.”¹

He adds that—

“The German nation has been plunged into this abyss by its scheming statesmen and its self-centred and highly neurotic Kaiser, who, in the twentieth century, sincerely believes that he is a proxy of Almighty God on earth, and therefore infallible.”

The author of *J'Accuse*, a work published anonymously in Lausanne by a German and a German patriot, writes as follows:—

“The points in the indictment against Germany I summarise in the following sentences—

“(1) Germany gave Austria a free hand against Serbia, although she was well aware that a European conflict must arise out of that between Serbia and Austria.

“(2) She allowed Austria to address to Serbia an ultimatum with exorbitant demands, and, notwithstanding an almost complete compliance with these demands, she allowed her to recall her Ambassador and to declare war.

“(3) By suggesting a localisation of the war she sought to create the *appearance* of mediating in the interests of peace, but that this proposal had no prospect of success must have been known to her from the history of diplomacy, and from the recent evidence of the Balkan crisis; that, as a matter of fact, it was known to her is clear from the confessions contained in the (German) White Book.

“(4) She declined the proposal for a conference of the four Powers.

“(5) She herself then advanced the proposal for direct discussions between Vienna and Petrograd, but, at the same time, she suffered Austria to decline to take part in these discussions, and, instead, to declare war against Serbia.

“(6) She left unanswered the frequently repeated re-

¹ *The Evidence in the Case*, pp. 243-5.

quest of the other Powers that she should herself propose an alternative method of mediation in place of the proposal of a conference which she had declined.

“(7) She left unanswered and undiscussed the various formulæ for agreement proposed by Grey.

“(8) In spite of all inquiries, she never said what Austria wanted, but constantly restricted herself to saying what Austria did *not* want.

“(10) She made to England a bid for neutrality, and thus announced her intention of making war at a time when the Entente Powers were still zealously labouring in the interests of peace.

“(11) When at last negotiations on the Serbian Note were opened with a prospect of success in Petrograd between Austria and Russia, she upset these negotiations by her ultimata to France and Russia, and made war inevitable.

“(12) In the ultimatum to Russia she demanded that demobilisation should also be carried out as against Austria, although Austria herself had mobilised the whole of her forces.

“(13) In place of the counter-mobilisation which she had threatened to carry out, she at once declared war without any ground, first on Russia and then on France.

“(14) As an afterthought she based these declarations of war on the fact that the Powers opposed to her had begun the war, whereas, on the contrary, the first acts of war were committed by Germany.

“(15) She violated the neutrality of Belgium, and thus in addition brought about war with England.

“These points in the indictment are proved, and justify the judgment: Germany is guilty, along with Austria, of having brought about the European war.”¹

Mr. August Cohn, a German, but a naturalised British subject, writes that—

“The charge that England, from mean and sordid

¹ *J'Accuse* (translated by Alexander Gray), p. 240.

motives, brought all this fearful misery, this terrible misfortune upon the world, is one of which we find it difficult to speak with moderation. We know but too well how, in spite of danger-signs, the British Government and people clung almost stubbornly to the belief that a great and intelligent nation would not allow its Government, however despotic, however unscrupulous, to lay Europe in ruins. That Germany's official apologists find it necessary to make that charge shows to what straits their Government is driven in its efforts to deceive its own people, its allies, and neutrals.

"And in August, 1914, when England and Germany faced each other as enemies, where was the joy that at last the day had arrived when accounts could be settled with the hated rival? Where was the exultation that the longed-for opportunity had come to spring at the adversary's throat? Not here, not in England. Consternation, bewilderment at the reckless and wicked iniquity of a Government which hurled Europe, striving for peace, into the abyss of war; pity for a people which had given the control of its destiny into the hands of an ambitious and unscrupulous caste—those were the feelings and sentiments uppermost in the minds of the British people. Hatred of the German people? Even when news reached us of the outbursts against England, of the attacks on the Embassy at Berlin, Englishmen were amazed and pained, but willing to find excuses for the demonstration of feeling by a misguided populace. On the other hand, no one who was in London in those fateful days will forget the satisfaction and pride felt and expressed by Englishmen at the courtesy and respect shown by the British Government and public to the departing German Ambassador. There was deep anger and bitter resentment at the invasion of Belgium and the cynical repudiation of solemn international treaties, but it was directed against the German Government, not against the German people. The very remarkable fact—and one which gives the lie to the wild charges of English hatred and jealousy—was the distinction which even the great masses of the population

endeavoured to draw between the guilt of the Prussian military oligarchy and the German people. Nobody will deny that this is a matter on which we are competent to speak.”¹

Dr. Hermann Rösmeier, until September 1914 political editor of the Berlin *Morgenpost*, addressed from Switzerland, in May 1916, “to his fellow-countrymen in Germany and more especially to the German working-classes,” an Open Letter² containing the following passages:—

“... When Austria sent her infamous ultimatum to Servia on July 23, 1914, no one who saw through the whole affair ever doubted that it was the intention of the Cabinet in Vienna to force Servia into war.³ The Appeal to the German Social Democratic leaders, which appeared in the *Vorwaerts* of July 25, 1914, called a spade a spade with refreshing plainness. It said—

“The fields in the Balkans are still steaming from the blood of thousands of slain. The ruins of desolated cities and devastated villages are still smoking. Workless men, widowed women, and orphaned children are still wandering

¹ *Some Aspects of the War as viewed by Naturalised British Subjects*, pp. 19-20. One of Mr. Cohn's sons was recently killed fighting with the British in France.

² Translated by Julian Grande, who states: “Of all the many publications issued since the war there is none which the German authorities have shown themselves more anxious to prevent from entering Germany than this Open Letter by Dr. Rösmeier. Nevertheless, I know that, despite all their vigilance, a considerable number of copies have reached not only the Germans in Germany, but the German soldiers in the trenches.”

³ “Baron Wangenheim, German Ambassador in Constantinople, on July 15, 1914, eight days before the communication of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, informed Senator Garroni, the Italian Ambassador in Constantinople, that the Note would be so worded as to render war inevitable. This important fact was disclosed by Signor Barzilai in his speech at Naples on September 26, 1915.”—H. W. Wilson in *The National Review*, January, 1917.

half-starved about the country. THE DOGS OF WAR LET LOOSE BY AUSTRIAN IMPERIALISM are again ready to spread death and destruction over all Europe.

“‘We may condemn the efforts of the “Greater Serbia” Nationalists, but the light-hearted way in which the Austro-Hungarian Government has brought about a war calls for the sharpest protest, for never in the history of the world have such brutal demands been presented to an independent State, and they can have but one result, that of directly provoking war.’

“The *Vorwaerts* Appeal concluded that not a drop of German soldiers’ blood ought to be shed in order to further the lust of power of the Austrian ruling classes. . . .

“Of what avail were all the proposals of the Entente? Perhaps in Vienna they might have ended by yielding, when matters really began to look grave and the nice little punitive expedition to Servia threatened to become an extremely serious war with Russia. In Berlin, however, ‘they’ were determined either to humiliate the Entente or to force them into a war, the absolutely absurd hope being cherished that England would stand aloof and watch France being brutally crushed and Belgian neutrality violated. The Government may have privately desired that the Entente Powers should humble themselves, and that a diplomatic victory might ensue without any bloodshed. This, however, is not quite certain, and there are very weighty reasons for believing that Bethmann-Hollweg did desire war with Russia, although not with England, and perhaps not with France either. As for the War Party proper—the Crown Prince, the War Office and the General Staff—they did wish for war, and particularly for a war with France, she being a Republican Democracy. Why else did they work out such fine plans for finishing off France in a fortnight, or at most in four weeks, and for marching straight away through Belgium and being done with her? And why else were the magnificent 42-centimetre Mörser guns in readiness, if war were not contemplated? Possibly the Kaiser may have opposed it, either from considerations of humanity, as we will do him the credit of

supposing, or from prudence, because in a world-war many fine things may be destroyed, among them crowns. In any case his opposition was of no practical effect, and on the 1st of August he declared war on Russia. . . .

"Such is the true history of the events leading up to the war, reduced to their smallest compass. . . . People, who afterwards allowed no one to outdo them in uproarious advocacy of the war, then admitted to the writer in so many words that the war was brought about by Germany with the object of securing a predominant position in Europe. Among those who made this startling admission were the influential manager of the *Vossische Zeitung*, a man who had the entry at all hours to Ministerial offices; Georg Bernhard, the ex-Social Democrat; and Rudolf Cuno, the editor of the Berlin *Morgenpost*, the most widely read newspaper in Germany.

"Yet these same persons, the Chancellor at their head, who know precisely what took place, are not ashamed to continue everlastingly telling the German people the fairy tale about Germany having been 'ruthlessly attacked.' Every expression of opinion about the causes of the war is carefully suppressed should it contain the remotest hint that Germany herself is not so entirely innocent of the catastrophe which has overwhelmed mankind. Lying and deceit are positively glorified as a moral duty. Characteristic of all this witches' Sabbath, all this crazy and criminal fraud, which Government, Parliament and Press have been and still are perpetrating on the German people, is the household word which Rudolf Cuno, already mentioned, editor of the Berlin *Morgenpost*, coined when speaking to the writer of this Open Letter: 'Only a scamp does not now help deceive the people with lies.'"

A book entitled *The Truth about Germany* was printed in English at the beginning of the war and circulated in the United States, with the signatures of thirty-four well known men in Germany including Herr Albert Ballin and Prince von Bülow. It was re-edited, exposed and criticised under the title of *Germany's Great Lie*, by Mr. Doug-

las Sladen, who quotes the following letter from the correspondent of the *Daily Mail*¹ at New York—

“The Press of the United States to-day calmly and emphatically rejects the appeal for the sympathy of this nation made by the leading savants, authors, statesmen, financiers and industrial magnates of Germany in the form of a book giving the Kaiser’s case under the title *The Truth about Germany*.

“In dealing with this appeal the *New York Times* observes: ‘No voice or pen, however eloquent or gifted, can convince an impartial world of the justice of Germany’s cause or change the rooted belief of right-thinking men that she is battling for ends that, if attained, would retard, rather than advance, the cause of civilisation, and make the peace, prosperity and happiness of the nations less secure.

“‘These men of Germany ask us to give no heed to the lies of their enemies. In this land of enlightenment public opinion does not take form on anybody’s lies. We take no count of perversions sent out from London or Paris. We have sought truth in its undefiled sources in the British White Paper and in the memorandum of the German Foreign Office, in the observed and acknowledged policies of the combatant nations, and in the utterances of their men of authority. The princes and professors who pay us the compliment of this appeal to our candid judgment will not impeach the testimony of their Foreign Office.

“‘If there was suspension of judgment in the first weeks of the war, all doubt vanished and full conviction came when the official documents and records were published. The American people there read of the untiring efforts of Sir Edward Grey to reach a peaceful adjustment through a conference of the Powers, of his appeals, to which France, Russia and Italy gave an immediate assenting response, and which Germany alone met with evasion, excuse, disfavour and refusal.

“‘From the German memorandum they learn that the

¹ Published in the *Daily Mail*, September 7, 1914.

Kaiser's Government had from the first sustained and encouraged Austria in a policy of war, and had denied the rights of any other Power to stand between her and the Serbian objects of her wrath. It is wholly futile, it is an affront to our intelligence for these German suppliants for our favour to tell us now that Russia and England brought on the war, that Germany did not choose the path of blood, that the sword was forced into the hands of the German Emperor; nor can our favour or sympathy be won by misrepresenting the motives of England, France and Russia.

“In the face of Sir Edward Grey's labours for peace, why tell us that England “encouraged this war” because she was determined to check the commercial growth of Germany? Why tell us that the war was “provoked by Russia” because of an outrageous desire for revenge?

“These German advocates talk as though we had just arrived from the moon. We are unmoved by their picture of the Slav peril. Why is it that Germany fears the Slav? England is not afraid; France has no fear; Italy, Belgium and Holland are all undisturbed. We would like to see a satisfactory answer to the question why, when all the rest of Europe is calm, Germany stands in terror of the Slav?

“The authors of this book make a wretched defence of Germany's crime against international morality and her invasion of neutral Belgium. In our place, they say, the Government of the United States would not have acted differently. Speak for yourselves, gentlemen. Our recent repeal of a statute that was by a great part of our people deemed to be in conflict with one of our treaties speaks for us.’

“The article refers to the disgust with which the inhabitants of the United States listen to the Kaiser's ‘blasphemous invocations to Divine favour upon his bloody enterprises,’ and concludes: ‘These gentlemen of Germany plead in vain. We can give them no help. To quote their own words in a truer sense than their own: The country

of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln places itself upon the side of a just cause and one worthy of humanity's blessing.' "

We may add the following remarks by Herr Maximilien Harden,¹ one of Germany's most famous journalists, which appeared in his newspaper *Die Zukunft*: "Why not admit what is and must be the truth that everything was jointly prepared by Vienna and Berlin. We should be . . . unworthy of the men who achieved Prussian predominance in Germany . . . if fifty years after Königgratz things could be otherwise." ²

And again: "Let us drop," he writes, "our miserable attempts to excuse Germany's action. Not against our will and as a nation taken by surprise did we hurl ourselves into this gigantic venture. We willed it; we had to will it. We do not stand before the judgment-seat of Europe; we acknowledge no such jurisdiction.

"Our might shall create a new law in Europe; it is Germany that strikes. When she has conquered new domains for her genius then the priesthoods of all the gods will praise the good war. . . .

"Germany is not making this war to punish sinners or to free oppressed peoples, and then to rust in the consciousness of disinterested magnanimity. She sets out from the immovable conviction that her achievements entitle her to demand more elbow-room on earth and wider outlets for activity. . . .

"Now Germany's hour has struck, and she must take her place as the leading Power. . . .

"What territory could Germany take from France or Russia that would be of any particular use to the German

¹ This is a *nom de plume*; his real name is Max Witkowski. He has not modified his convictions as to who is responsible for the war, but has now become a pacifist. *Die Zukunft* of May 27, 1916, begins with a lengthy review of the events immediately preceding the war in which the aggressive attitude of the German Chancellor is contrasted with Sir Edward Grey's efforts to maintain the peace. The issue was confiscated by the German Government.

² August 1, 1914.

people? No, what Germany is fighting for is not French, Polish, Ruthenian, Esthonian, Lithuanian provinces—nor is it milliards of indemnities. The object is to hoist the storm-flag of the Empire on the narrow channel that opens and closes the way to the Atlantic.”¹

¹ November 1914; quoted in the *Daily Chronicle*, November 18, 1914.

V

KULTUR AND MORALITY

THUS the "Great Day" had come when Germany, as she thought, was to enter upon the fulfilment of her destiny and establish her ascendancy over the whole of the earth. It had been hoped, as we have seen, that England would stand aside and wait her turn while France and Russia were being crushed. But, after all, "the intervention of England would not make the slightest difference!" as a German, personally known to the writer, remarked; and he added that "if God Himself came down from Heaven to fight for the Allies, He would not be able to save them from defeat." Moreover, God would assuredly fight on their side and not on the side of the Allies. Did not the Emperor say in his address to the armies proceeding to the East? "Remember that you are the Chosen People. The Spirit of the Lord has descended upon me, because I am the Emperor of the Germans. I am the Instrument of the All-High. I am His Sword and His Vicar on earth. Death and destruction to those who resist my will. Perish all the enemies of the German people. God requires their destruction, God Who by my mouth commands you to carry out His will."

The whole nation was confident. On the 2nd of September the German armies were to enter Paris, and the occupation of Petrograd—and, perhaps, London—would follow at no distant date. And they persuaded themselves that the great German *Kultur* would spread itself over the globe. The Emperor had often impressed upon his people that they were the "salt of the earth." On leaving for Tangier in 1906 he said: "The good God

would not have taken so much trouble on behalf of our German Fatherland, if He did not reserve for us a great destiny. We are the salt of the earth . . . God created us that we might civilise the world."

A foreign invasion has often proved in the end a blessing to the conquered. No one will deny that the Anglo-Saxon race owes much of its greatness to its admixture with the French; and impartial historians have recognised the healthy influence we have ourselves exerted over those races which have been incorporated in the British Empire. A person of cosmopolitan tendencies—and there are many such in this country as in others—might regard the overthrow of the constitution, under which he has hitherto been living, with indifference or with pleasure, according as it was supplanted by another equally good or better. Let us then consider what this German culture—or *Kultur* as they term it—is, and *what is German morality*. We shall then be able to judge for ourselves whether it is desirable that they should be imposed upon us and the rest of mankind.

It is difficult to know what exactly we are intended to understand by *Kultur*. "Kultur," writes Herr Mann, in the *Neue Rundschau* of November 1914, "is a spiritual organisation in the world which does not exclude 'bloody savagery' (*sic*). It is above morality, above reason, and above science."¹

Let us not confuse *Kultur* with what we understand by civilisation. "Civilisation, as understood by the bulk of mankind, is primarily a matter of conduct. It is an understanding of honour and of integrity. It is a recognition of the rights of others. The Roman civilisation was not a mere matter of good roads, good bridges and good aqueducts, though these things were built well. It did not rest on conquest or on commerce. 'What Rome gave and secured,' says Mr. Chamberlain, 'was a life morally worthy of man.' Germany's campaign in Belgium—and the more that is said in defence of this great wrong, the blacker does it appear—is an affront to honour, a death-blow to integ-

¹ *Paroles Allemandes*, 1915, pp. 34-5.

rity, a denial of just rights. It is a triumphant exposition of brute force; of a life morally worthy of no man. It is a rejection of civilisation and of all that civilisation implies. It is an abrupt return to savage and elemental conditions.”¹

To some *Kultur* appears to consist in experimenting in the various branches of science: “The German *Kultur* means pig-iron, Krupp’s, ships, chemicals, music, discipline, military service and professors.”²

“The *Kultur Mensch* is a person whose attainments in one direction are so considerable as to let him be of service to humanity in general and to the State in particular. A *Kultur Mensch* might be a bacteriologist with the manners and appearance of a hog; he might be an engineer who was perpetually drunk, or a philologist whose chief private characteristic was a tendency to unnatural vice.”³

Most German writers, however, seem to identify *Kultur* with a skilful direction of the affairs of State. By considering, therefore, what, to the German mind, constitutes the highest form of statecraft, we shall arrive at an appreciation of their *Kultur*.⁴ This state-craft acknowledges no law and no morality, because the State is the embodiment of might; and might, as Haeckel and his followers say, is above right, and the State can commit no wrong, and is not even bound by its own engagements. “It is of the very essence of the State,” writes Treitschke, who openly espouses and exaggerates the views of Machiavelli, “that it cannot recognize any force above its own . . . and every State, being sovereign, has an incontestable right to declare war when it pleases. Consequently every State is in a position to set aside contracts into which it has entered.”⁵

¹ *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, p. 84.

² *The War Week by Week*, p. 139.

³ Ford Madox Hueffer, *When Blood is their Argument*.

⁴ “Ultimately the State is the transmitter of all culture.”—Treitschke.

⁵ “Our idea of the State has been that of an institution for the extension of personal liberty and freedom of action—the liberty of one man ending where that of another begins. Likewise our conception of a State among other States has been that

"The State has no judge superior to itself, and consequently will conclude all its treaties with that tacit reservation." ¹

"Thus every State reserves to itself the right to judge of its treaty obligations for itself, and the historian cannot here step in with his purely conventional standards." ²

"The State should not altogether break with morality; as long as it is impolitic to be immoral, the moral law should be observed." ³

"Should civilisation erect its temples on mountains of corpses, over seas of tears and the groans of the dead? Yes, it must. If a people has a right to dominate, its power to conquer constitutes the highest moral power to which the conquered must bow. Woe to the conquered." ⁴

"The ideal statesman will pursue his purpose without allowing himself to be arrested by scruples in the choice of means and still less of persons." ⁵

"When one is ready and strong it is one's duty to rob, the weak, and when one is ready it is one's duty to act at once." ⁶

"The true philosopher," says Rönneberg, "does not question the point. . . . He obeys and approves. By so doing he merits this venerable name in doing that which its rights and activities may only extend so far as they do not transgress the just rights of another State. . . ."

"Not so in modern Germany. There, for the last half century, the final basis of human society and of those outward forms of civilisation which express a desire of all mankind to act together for common purposes, have been insistently stated to be nothing but brutal strength. To the modern German, as exhibited in the authoritative writings which are in this volume, moral qualities, mental achievement, and spiritual insight serve no useful purpose in the life of a State, unless they can be used to bolster up the doctrine of blood and iron, and the monstrous theory that human society rests on a foundation of force."—*Germany's War Mania*, pp. 17-18.

¹ Treitschke, *Politik*, vol. i. p. 103.

² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-8.

⁴ Marshal von Haesseler, quoted in *Paroles Allemandes*, p. 124.

⁵ *Politik*, vol. i. p. 66.

⁶ This is what Bernhardi calls "die Pflicht zum Kriege." *Deutschland und der Nächste Krieg*, ch. ii.

his functions require. Therefore so far as you are concerned believe what you consider to be true, but do not trouble the people with your doctrines. . . . You will thus act according to your duty as a citizen of the State . . . and you will remain, even when you teach what is against your convictions, an honest man.”¹

“A State can commit no crime,” says Professor Lasson; “the observation of treaties is not a question of right, but a question of interest.”²

“Between States there is but one right, the right of the strongest.”³

“Is Germany strong? She is. Then what are you talking about, Professors in spectacles and Theologians in slippers? Is there such a thing as right? Have noble ideas any value? What chimeras are you defending? One principle only counts, one alone which sums up and contains all the others—might.”⁴

The State being above morality may declare war on any pretext, or no pretext at all, whenever it deems it to its own advantage to do so, and may, and indeed should carry on that war without regard to any international engagements into which it had previously entered, or to the commonly accepted principles of humanity.

“It is the idea which, based on the theory that war is a ‘biological necessity,’ leads logically to the conclusion reached by Major-General von Disfurth that any act committed in the carrying on of war is ‘a brave act and fully justified.’ ”⁵

“Any philanthropic sentiment in war is a pernicious error,”⁶ writes General Clausewitz; and a manual issued by the German General Staff lays down that every method may be employed in war without which the object of the war cannot be attained.

“Give no quarter; be as terrible as the Huns of Attila,”

¹ Quoted in *L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, p. 31.

² *Das Kultur-Ideal und der Krieg*, p. 868.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Maximilien Harden, *Die Zukunft*, quoted in *Paroles Allemandes*, p. 68.

⁵ *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, pp. 280-1.

⁶ Quoted in *Paroles Allemandes*, p. 92.

said the Emperor William to his troops as they left for China in 1900.¹

War, they argue, should be "absolute." "The expression 'civilised warfare' is a barely intelligible term."²

"The moment a national war breaks out, terrorism becomes a necessary military principle."³

"Military necessity can attempt no distinction between public and private property. It has a right to take what it needs wherever and however it can."⁴

"One cannot introduce a principle of moderation into the philosophy of war, without committing an absurdity. . . . It is, then, an erroneous tendency to seek to neglect the element of brutality in war merely because we dislike it."⁵

"In the good old time it often happened that a strong nation drove, by violent and destructive combats, another weaker nation from its home. To-day such violence no longer takes place; to-day everything is carried on in peace in this miserable world, and those who have the upper hand are for peace. The little nations and the remnants (*Volkssplitter*) have discovered a new word, 'international law.'"⁶

"International law must beware of paralysing military action by placing fetters on it."⁷

"International law is in no way opposed to the exploitation of the crimes of third parties (assassination, incendiarism, robbery, and the like) to the prejudice of the enemy. . . . The ugly and immoral aspect of such methods cannot affect the recognition of their lawfulness."⁸

"All military effort requires that the combatant who makes this effort shall be entirely free from the shackles

¹ But even Attila spared Troyes and its works of art.

² General Julius von Hartmann in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. xiii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 462.

⁵ Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, vol. i. pp. 4-5.

⁶ Tannenberg, *Gross-Deutschland*, p. 74.

⁷ Von Hartmann in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. xiii. pp. 119-24.

⁸ *German War Book*, translated by Professor Morgan, p. 86.

of a constraining legality. . . . Violence and passion are the principal levers of every warlike act.”¹

“When war has once broken out everything is at stake, for every war is a question of life or death. . . . It would be weak to mince matters as well as cowardly to allow any feeling of pity to exist.”²

“The national State, which realises the highest form of the race, can be established *only by the destruction of the other States, which destruction can only logically be brought about by violence.*”³

“We have universally adopted the principle that the mass must atone for the fault of an individual. The village in which the inhabitants have fired on our troops, will be burnt to the ground. If the guilty is not discovered, some representatives will be chosen from among the population who will be executed by virtue of the martial law. . . . The innocent must pay the penalty with the guilty; if the latter cannot be determined, the innocent must suffer in their place, not because a crime has been committed by them, but in order that a crime be not again committed in the future.”⁴

“A stern and cruel method [that of placing civilians as a shield in front of the troops], which placed the life of peaceful inhabitants in serious danger, without there being any fault on their part. Consequently, every non-German opinion has denounced it as a breach of international law. . . . We must reply to this unfavourable criticism that this means was, in the circumstances given, the only one from which we might look for some result. . . . It is justified by the fact that it has been completely successful.”⁵

¹ Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, vol. i. p. 4.

² *Das Kultur-Ideal und der Krieg*, p. 56.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁴ Walter Bloem in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, February 10, 1915.

⁵ “The German General Staff,” *Rules of Continental War*.

“When it is officially denied that German troops have used women and children as ‘living shields’ in warfare, we are not required to believe that Germans in general would think the practice indefensible. On the Belgian precedent it would be sound war policy if it could be shown to be useful.”—J. M. Robertson, *The German Idea of Peace Terms*, p. 13.

"*'Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal.'* These words were called holy at one time. Before them one bent the knee and the head and took off one's shoes. But, I ask you, where could be found better brigands or better assassins than were these holy words? Is there not robbery and murder in life itself? . . . Oh, my brothers, break to pieces the ancient tablets."¹

"A war conducted with energy cannot be directed merely against the combatants of the enemy State and the positions they occupy, but it will and must in like manner seek to destroy their whole intellectual and moral resources."²

"A policy of sentiment is sottish; dreams of humanity are stupid. . . . Policy is a matter of business. Justice and injustice are notions necessarily considered only in civil life. The German nation is always right because it is the German nation and comprises eighty-seven million inhabitants. Our fathers have left us much to accomplish."³

"Ask the beech tree who has given it the right to raise its head higher than the pine and the fir tree, the birch or the palm; summon it before the highest court over which preside old men with toothless jaws, and through its leaves will be heard a voice like that of the tempest crying out that 'my right is my might.' . . . We have a will to conquer, and we must conquer. It is useless for diplomats in frock-coats and spectacles to argue that we are simple, honest people of a pacific temperament."⁴

"Be strict with the enemy;

"Pay no attention to so-called international law;

"Have no pity for old men, women, or children."⁵

"Stifle in you every human feeling," says Heinrich Vierordt in his "Hymn of Hate": "pierce the heart of every enemy with your bayonet; make no prisoners;

¹ Nietzsche, *Also Sprach Zarathustra*.

² *German War Book*.

³ *Gross-Deutschland*.

⁴ Maximilien Harden, in *Die Zukunft*.

⁵ From a book published in 1915, entitled *The German Soldier's Ten Commandments of Iron*, by Lieutenant Joachim von der Goltz, quoted in the Swiss Press of the 8th July of that year.

render them for ever silent; transform the neighbouring countries into deserts . . . carry out the judgment of God . . . and afterwards you will stand on the ruins of the world, cured for all time of your ancient folly, of your love of foreigners."

To profess these principles—that might is above right, and the State above morality; that war is a necessary and a healthy occupation, and that we should wage it at every opportunity and with all the violence and ruthlessness of which our animal nature is capable—is to advocate a return to the primæval condition of mankind when the distinction between right and wrong was undeveloped, and the weaker had to give way to the stronger, however just his cause; in one word to turn ourselves, openly and consciously, into soulless Frankenstein monsters, after having striven all these centuries towards a higher ideal; for their teaching is nothing less than this.¹ It is a reasoned and systematic adoption of the lower animal instincts, the enthronement of all that is evil and bestial in human nature.²

It is based, as they pretend, on the laws of evolution, but is, on the contrary, subversive of those laws. If brute force is still the principal factor in the development of the human race, then we have reached no higher level than our ancestors of the Stone Age.³

¹ "Europe has submitted before to barbarian invasions, but what she has never seen before is barbarism elevated to a dogma, taught by professors, advocated by the highest intellects, supported by science."—*Kaiser, Krupp and Kultur*, p. 116.

² "It is no exaggeration to say that this German philosophy, taken as a whole, is an attempt to overthrow all principles of morality as recognised from the days of antiquity by both Pagans and Christians; it is a return—at the same time conscious and unconscious—to the cult of the god Tott or Tuiston, the god of Might, Unser Gott, a cult which lay dominant at the bottom of the German soul."—Gabriel Hanotaux in the *Revue Hebdomadaire* of February 6, 1915.

³ "Every student of nature recognises and deplores the cruelty inseparable from the struggle for existence underlying the great biological law of the survival of the fittest.

"But it has remained for these spokesmen of Germany to

It makes no difference that these principles are laid down with reference in particular to the State; for if the State recognises no law but that of necessity, so will each individual member of that State consider himself "above morality" in all his actions, and all the more so when, as under the German system, every subject is expected to regard his rulers as infallible and practically to merge his individuality in the State.

It might have been thought, or at least hoped, that these theories were nothing more than the ravings of irresponsible pedants and atheists—and, indeed, one of their foremost exponents, Nietzsche, passed the last ten years of his life under restraint. But unfortunately we have seen each one of their savage doctrines put into practice over and over again during more than thirty months, until the very name of Germany has become, and must remain, a by-word for infamy and barbarity.

On the 26th of June, 1831, a treaty was signed by the representatives of the five Great Powers of Europe, *including Prussia*, guaranteeing the independence and neutrality of the Kingdom of Belgium. Article 5 of this treaty is worded as follows: "Belgium shall form a perpetually neutral State. . . . The five Powers . . . guarantee to-day this perpetual neutrality as also the integrity and inviolability of its territory." This treaty was renewed between the same Powers on the 19th of April, 1839.

By Article 2 of the fifth Convention of the Hague, signed on the 18th of October, 1907, by the representatives of forty-four States, *including Germany*, "belligerents are

apply to civilised nations, without essential change or modification, eliminating all considerations of morality, of altruism, of kindness to the weak or helpless, of everything in fact which serves to distinguish us from our fellow animals. There is little enough at the best, but Bernhardt's 'biological necessity' of war, like the 'necessity'—to overrun Belgium—of the German Chancellor, is simply a barefaced return to the ethics of the tiger."—*A Textbook of the War for Americans*, p. 32.

forbidden to move across the territory of a neutral Power troops and convoys." By Article 10 of that Convention, *the fact of a neutral Power repelling, even by force, attacks on its neutrality cannot be considered as a hostile act.*

At the meeting of the Budget Committee of the "Reichstag" of April 29, 1913, Herr von Jagow, the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared that: "Belgian neutrality is provided for by international conventions, and Germany is determined to respect these conventions." On the same occasion, Herr von Heeringen, Minister of War, said that: "Germany will not lose sight of the circumstance that the neutrality of Belgium is guaranteed by international treaty."¹

It is difficult to believe that, even at the time at which they were made, there was any sincerity in these ministerial declarations, in view of the statement with reference to Belgium and Holland contained in the German secret report quoted above. It will be well to repeat it: "We

¹ Professor Morgan has called attention to the fact that "the absolute inviolability of Belgium, under all circumstances and without exception, has been laid down in the leading German textbook on International Law, which declares that such treaties are the great 'landmarks of progress' in the formation of a European polity, and that the guarantors must step in, whether invited or uninvited, to vindicate them." He quotes Holtzendorff (*Handbuch des Völkerrechts*, III., pp. 93, 108, 109), as saying that "nothing could make the situation of Europe more insecure than an egotistical repudiation by the great States of these duties of international fellowship." *German Atrocities*, p. 5.

The German jurist, Bluntschli, Professor at the University of Heidelberg, also taught that a neutral State was in duty bound to take up arms to resist the invasion of its country by a belligerent, and that it was not an act of war to do so. "The act of defending neutral territory," he writes, "by arms or of repulsing an attack, does not annul its neutrality; it confirms it."—See *l'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, p. 120.

"Treaties made for peace conditions are obviously liable to be broken in war, but a treaty made with special reference to war belongs to that class of obligations whose infringement is like cheating at cards. The offender gets no second chance."—Joseph C. Fraley (of Philadelphia) in a brochure entitled *How and Why a War Lord Wages War*.

must be strong in order to annihilate at one powerful sweep our enemies in the East and West, but in the next European war it will also be necessary that the small States shall be forced to follow us or be subdued. In certain conditions their armies and their fortified places can be rapidly conquered or neutralised; this will probably be the case with Belgium and Holland." Moreover, for years past, Germany had been building strategic railways on the Belgian frontier, and her military writers had been discussing the advisability of entering France through Belgian territory in the event of war.

"France," wrote General von Bernhardt, in 1911, "must be so crushed as never to be able to rise again and interfere with us. This result must be secured at any cost, even at the cost of a European war. *The neutrality of Belgium will not stop us.*"¹ The *Deutsche Kriegs-Zeitung*, or *German War Journal*, wrote on the 22nd of September, 1914: "The plan for the invasion of France was thoroughly thought out a long time ago. It was necessary for its success that it should take place in the north by way of Belgium."²

Already in 1906, in consequence of the growing suspicion that Germany would, sooner or later, violate the neutrality of Belgium, a conference had taken place between the British Military Attaché at Brussels and the Chief of the Belgian War Office Staff as to the assistance which England would be able to give to Belgium in the event of a German invasion.³

¹ *Vom heutigen Kriege* (vol. i. p. 434), quoted by Davignon in *La Belgique et l'Allemagne* (English translation), p. 17.

² *Ibid.*

³ The German Government has attempted, by tampering with documents found in the Belgian archives at Brussels, to convince the credulous that Belgium had violated her own neutrality by agreeing to the landing of British troops in case of war, but the forgery has been amply exposed. The following account of the proceedings of the German Government in the matter appeared in an article in the *National Review*, referred to above:—

"The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, on October 13 and

But it is, after all, immaterial what were their previous intentions. It is enough that when war had been decided upon the German armies "had to advance into France," as Herr Bethmann-Hollweg said to the British Ambassador,¹ "by the quickest and easiest way so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations and endeavour to strike some decisive blow as soon as possible. It was a matter of life and death for them, as if they had gone by the more southern route, they could not have hoped, in view of the paucity of roads and of the strength of the fortresses, to have got through without formidable opposition, entailing great loss of time." Was not might above right, at least where Germany was concerned, and was it not an admitted principle that in war all expedients

November 24, 1915, published documents seized by the Germans in the Belgian archives, relating to armed assistance by Great Britain if Belgium were attacked, and at the same time the German Government published a Dutch edition of these documents, accompanied by a photograph of the text. The photograph contained a passage on the margin, 'The entry of the English into Belgium would only take place on the violation of our neutrality by Germany,' which was omitted in the Dutch translation and in the German newspaper. A second passage was deliberately altered. It ran in the photograph: 'Our conversation was quite confidential.' The German Government altered this into 'our convention was quite confidential,' making it appear that there was a secret treaty between Great Britain and Belgium."

"What wonder that, knowing themselves forsworn, the Germans should strive to cast the guilt of their perfidy on Belgium's shoulders! What wonder that, knowing themselves to be unprincipled aggressors, they should have the hardihood to say that Belgium plotted against the peace of Europe! There is no hatred so deep as that which we bear to the man we have wronged. There is no sight so bitter to a nation's eyes as the unstained honour of another nation it has dishonourably despoiled. As long as history is taught, the tale of Germany's broken word and Belgium's brave resistance will be told to the world. As long as men stay men, they will loathe the oppressor and revere the indomitable courage of the oppressed. As long as truth stays truth, the blot on Germany's escutcheon will remain uneffaced and uneffaceable."—*A Textbook of the War for Americans*, pp. 84-5.

¹ See p. 110.

were permissible by which victory would be ensured! As the Chancellor himself stated a few days later in the Reichstag, "necessity knows no law." "Our troops," he went on to say, "have occupied Luxemburg, perhaps they have already entered Belgian territory. Gentlemen, this is in contradiction to the rules of international law. . . . The wrong—I speak openly—the wrong that we now do we will try to make good again as soon as our military ends have been reached."

The violation of the neutrality of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, which was also guaranteed by the Powers, *including Germany and Austria*, by the Treaty of May 18, 1867, would also facilitate the invasion of France, and German troops accordingly passed the frontier on the 2nd of August.¹

¹The *Figaro* of November 24, 1915, published the following story in a letter from M. Fleury Bavarin, a former Deputy of the French Senate: "The Kaiser repeats that he did not wish for war; that it was forced upon him, and that Germany has merely defended herself. No one outside Germany is deceived by this audacious lie. . . . But I would beg you to give publicity to a little matter of a very convincing nature which has been brought to my knowledge by a person residing in Luxemburg, who has recently arrived in Paris. At the beginning, or towards the middle of June 1914, there arrived at a German hotel in the capital of the Grand Duchy twenty *tourists* who were occupied for several weeks in making themselves acquainted with every corner of the town, visiting both the French and the Belgian frontiers. They did not at the time attract much attention, but when the war broke out in August, and the Duchy was entered by German troops, the *tourists* were seen to leave the hotel, dressed no longer as civilians, but in military uniform, and conduct the invaders to the various posts, where guards were subsequently placed."

VI

HOW GERMANY WAGES WAR: OFFICIAL REPORTS ON ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN TROOPS IN EUROPE

BUT if, in her preparations for the conquest of Europe, Germany has regarded the solemn treaties, into which she entered, as so many scraps of paper, the methods which she has employed in her attempt to bring it about, surpass in their horror anything which has hitherto been recorded in history. There is not the least exaggeration in this statement. The atrocities which have been committed in the past years by the officers and men alike of her armies in Belgium, France, Russia and Serbia and of her navy on the sea, have been already described in hundreds of volumes and many thousands of newspapers, in all the principal languages of the world; but they are of so shocking a nature that many people lack the nerve to read them, while others confess their inability to realise that in Europe of the twentieth century there should be found men, and not only men but a nation, capable of perpetrating such crimes. They prefer to imagine for the sake of humanity that the incidents have not been correctly related. But not only are a vast number of the crimes reported based on unimpeachable evidence, often on the statements contained in the letters and diaries of Germans who have witnessed them or themselves participated in them, but they are justified—if such a word can be used in this connection—by the orders issued by commanders and other responsible persons.

“The armies of modern days being recruited indiscriminately from all classes of the nation, it is not astonishing that there should be certain degenerates among

them capable under exceptional circumstances of performing criminal acts. It would be unjust to impute to the whole of a nation the horror of certain isolated crimes. There have been examples of such crimes in every war, and the nations taking part therein are not dishonoured by the excesses of a few individuals or by small groups of their soldiers, any more than they are in time of peace by the scandal of a crime committed in their midst. . . . But it is a very different matter when, putting aside individual crimes, we have to deal with wholesale executions or excessive severity shown with regard to persons or their property by the express command of the military authorities. In this case, so far from constituting exceptional crimes and contraventions against an established discipline, these acts are to be attributed to the form of discipline itself and consequently to the system of command and the social and moral *ensemble* of which this discipline is the expression, the instrument and the support.”¹

“It is with my approval,” said General von Bülow in a proclamation posted at Liège on the 22nd of August, 1914, “that the Commander-in-Chief has caused the whole district to be burnt, and that about two hundred persons have been shot.”

The following is an extract from a proclamation to the communal authorities of the town of Liège—

August 22, 1914.

“The inhabitants of the town of Andenne, after having protested their peaceful intentions, made a treacherous surprise attack on our troops.

“It was with my consent that the General had the whole place burnt down and about 100 people shot.

“I bring this fact to the knowledge of the town of Liège, so that its inhabitants may know the fate with which they are threatened, if they take up a similar attitude.

“The General Commanding-in-Chief,

“VON BÜLOW.”

¹ *L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, p. 124.

And again at Namur on August 25: "All the streets will be occupied by a German guard who will take six hostages in each street. If any disorder takes place in the street the hostages will be shot.

"The Commandant of the City,
"VON BÜLOW."

"With a view to ensure the safety of our troops and the tranquillity of the population of Rheims, the persons, whose names are mentioned, have been seized as hostages by the Commander of the German Army. These hostages will be shot on the slightest disorder occurring. On the other hand, if the town remains absolutely calm and tranquil, the hostages and inhabitants will be placed under the protection of the German Army.

"The General in Command.

"Rheims, September 12, 1916."

"In future the districts situated near the spot where railway or telegraph lines have been destroyed will be punished without mercy (it makes no difference whether they are guilty or not). For this purpose, hostages have been seized in all the districts situated near the railways threatened with any attempt of this nature; and immediately any attempt is made to destroy the railway and telegraphic lines, they will be shot.

"The Governor,
"VON DER GOLTZ.

"Brussels, October 5, 1914."

"The town of Wavre will be burnt and destroyed without regard to anybody," wrote General von Vieber on the 27th of August to the Burgomaster of that town, "if a contribution of 3,000,000 francs is not paid in good time. The innocent will suffer with the guilty."

In a placard posted at Hasselt, August 17, it was declared that if inhabitants fired upon the soldiers of the

German army, a third of the male population would be put to death.

An order by General Stenger, commander of the 58th Brigade, declares that—

“From to-day no more prisoners will be taken. All the prisoners will be put to death.

“The wounded, whether armed or unarmed, will be put to death.

“Prisoners, even when in large bodies, will be put to death. No living man must remain behind us.”

Extract from Brigade Orders, August 21, 1914, Mulhausen—

“All Frenchmen, whether wounded or not, who fall into our hands, are to be killed. No prisoners are to be taken.”

Proclamation posted at Grivegnée, September 8, 1914, by Major Dieckmann—

“Whoever does not immediately obey the order ‘hold up arms’ renders himself guilty (*sic*) of death (*se rend coupable de la peine de mort*).”

“Notice

“All the inmates of the house, with the exception of children under fourteen years and their mothers and aged persons, must be ready to be transported within an hour and a half.

“An officer will decide definitely what persons will be conducted to the concentration camps. For this purpose, all the inmates of the house are to assemble in front of it; in case of bad weather, they may remain in the passage. The door of the house must remain open. All complaints will be useless. No inmate of the house, including even those who will not be transported, will be permitted to quit the house before eight o’clock (German time).

"Each person will be entitled to thirty kilograms of luggage; if there is any excess the whole of the luggage of the person, to whom it belongs, will be refused without distinction. The luggage must be put together separately for each person and a legible address firmly attached to it. The address must contain the Christian and surname and the number of the identity card.

"It is essential in the interests of the persons concerned that they should provide themselves with utensils for eating and drinking as well as a woollen coverlet, good boots and linen. Each person must carry on him his identity card. Any person attempting to evade the transportation will be punished without mercy.

"Etappen-Kommandantur.

"Lille, April, 1916."

The men who compose the German and Austrian armies have tortured and mutilated and done to death in all manner of ways the innocent inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they have passed, hanging or shooting them down, men, women and children, singly or in groups, or clubbing them with the butt-end of their rifles, or hewing them to pieces with their axes, or spearing them with bayonets, or burning them in their houses.¹

¹At Sempst, Louvain, Liège and Dinant, families trying to escape from their burning houses were shot or thrust back into the fire.

The manner in which the Austrians in Serbia put their victims to death were very varied according to Professor Reiss. "Very often," he writes, "the victims were mutilated before or after death. The following methods of killing and mutilation I have established by evidence. The victims were shot, killed by the bayonet, their throats cut with knives, they were violated and then killed, stoned to death, hanged, beaten to death with the butt-end of rifles or with sticks, disembowelled, burnt alive, or their legs or arms were cut or torn off, their ears or noses cut off, their eyes put out, their breasts cut off, their skin cut in strips, or the flesh torn from the bone. Lastly, a little girl of ten months was thrown to the pigs."

They have bombarded and desecrated churches, and stolen the sacred vessels from them. They have reduced whole villages and large parts of towns to dust, destroying historical edifices and works of art of incalculable value, and have had themselves photographed among the ruins;¹ or, where there were no public buildings to destroy, no banks to plunder or houses to pillage, they have devastated the country. An eyewitness speaks of the country which they are now abandoning in their retreat in the west as "one indescribable scene of desolation, rapine and wanton brutality." "At Bray St. Christophe," says another eyewitness, "not content with blowing the church of the cemetery to atoms, the departing invaders tore its covering stones from some of the tombs and destroyed the coffins, presumably for the metal they contained."

They have outraged women and girls by thousands, often murdering them afterwards. In the town of Dinant alone they massacred more than six hundred persons in one month.² They have on numerous occasions, and with despicable cowardice, placed women and children as a screen between themselves and their enemies' rifles. They have revelled in cruelty; even dumb animals have been the victims of their barbarity.³

Their prisoners have, in many cases, fared no better at

¹"Postcards illustrating the ruin and destruction which they have brought about, and the tortures they have inflicted upon the innocent inhabitants have been published and distributed, showing that, so far from there being any shame on account of the excesses committed by the soldiers, they gloried in them."—*L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, p. 221.

²In August, 1914. A complete list of their names is given in the Belgian Official Reports, vol. ii. Annex 3. On pp. 106 *seq.* of the same Reports (English translation) a list is given of 44 men between 65 and 80, of 57 women and girls, and of 50 children, boys and little girls, some only a few months old, butchered by German troops at that town. In the province of Namur, they massacred nearly 2000 persons.

³Belgian Official Reports on *The Violation of the Rights of Nations and the Laws and Customs of War*, ii. 9.

their hands than the inhabitants of the invaded towns. Numbers have been shot, or battered or kicked to death where they fell; others, carried to Germany have had to endure the vilest treatment, both on their way there and during their internment. And not only prisoners of war, but vast numbers of the civil population of the invaded towns are now being torn away from their families and deported to Germany, where they will be forced to labour for their oppressors like gangs of slaves.¹

From the air and from the sea they have hurled their bombs on women and children under the pretence that

¹“Parties of soldiers enter by force these peaceful homes and tear youths from their parents, the husband from his wife, and the father from his children. They stop with bayonets the door through which wives and mothers wish to pass in order to say a final farewell to those who are going away.

“The Germans arrange their captives in groups of forty and fifty and force them into railway trucks. As soon as the train is full the officer in charge gives the signal for its departure. And so thousands of Belgians are reduced to slavery. They do not know whither they are going.”—Protest issued by Cardinal Mercier in the name of all the Bishops of Belgium; quoted in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 14, 1916.

“In a note issued July 25, 1916, the French Government challenged Germany to permit neutral Powers to inquire into the seizure of non-combatants at Lille, Roubaix and Tourcoing, in April 1916. The facts were that 22,000 girls over twenty, women and men in these French towns, then in enemy occupation, were seized by German soldiers from regiments defeated at Verdun, and carried off in droves, altogether pell-mell. The men were to be employed in forced labour on the land, on roads and in the manufacture of munitions. The women were to cook and wash for the soldiers and to replace the officers’ orderlies. Evidence was produced showing that young women had been forced to work for the enemy under fire, had been brutally ill-used, had been miserably fed, and in some cases had been flogged. The German Government refused to allow any neutral State to inquire into the facts. See *Les Allemands à Lille*, French official publication.”—H. W. Wilson, in the *National Review*, January, 1917.

they were bombarding fortified towns.¹ They have strewn

¹And yet their newspapers avow that the object of the Zeppelin raids is to terrify and wreak vengeance on the non-combatant citizens of London.

"Thousands bleed daily in the shell-fire on the Somme, and the crews of our airships do not ask a softer fate. For all, down to the last man, know that they strike England most effectively to the heart, and that peace is brought most speedily nearer when the full-fed shopkeepers on the Thames no longer feel safe in their own houses, and when pale fear chases the blood from their faces. The voice of compassion must be silent against brutal England, which desires to root out our whole race from the earth."—*Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, September 26, 1916.

"England an island no longer! The City of London, the heart which pumps the life-blood into the arteries of the brutal huckster nation, has been sown with bombs by German airships, whose brave pilots had the satisfaction of seeing the dislocated fragments of docks, banks and numerous other buildings rise up to the dark skies in lurid tongues of flame. At last the long-yearned-for punishment has fallen on England, on this people of liars and hypocrites, the punishment for the overflowing measure of sins in ages past. Not blind hatred is it, nor raging anger, that inspires our airship heroes, but a solemn, a religious awe at being the chosen instruments of the Divine wrath; and in that moment that they saw London going up in smoke and fire they lived through a thousand lives of an immeasurable joy which all who remain at home must envy them."—*Ibid*.

The *Berlin-Anzeiger* has published a pretended photograph of the "devastation" caused by the raid of September 23, 1915, in Regent Street, "the famous shopping thoroughfare of London, which is mostly in ruins in consequence of our air-raids!"

"In the Zeppelin raids on Great Britain bombs were consistently dropped on small towns and residential districts of large towns. Military works were avoided; in general the German airships went nowhere near munition works. Full statements by neutrals have been published on this head. Down to September 4, 1916, 352 persons had been killed and 799 injured—almost all non-combatants and many of them women and children—in German air-raids. The writer is able to say, after personally examining the bomb-discharging apparatus in L 33, that it was of such a nature as to make hitting any target out of the question at a height of 5000 feet or more, at which these airships attack."—*The National Review*, January, 1917.

mines in the open sea.¹ They have torpedoed passenger and hospital ships, laughing at their victims as they struggled in the water,² or leaving them to perish in their boats of cold and hunger. Nor are any means by which they can bring them to their fate too foul in their eyes.³

"On December 16, 1914, the German battle cruisers, under Admiral Hipper shelled Whitby, Scarborough, and the Hartle-pools, killing 150 non-combatants, many of whom were women and children, and wounding over 400. No notice was given; no naval operations were undertaken; the fire was directed at houses and residential districts. On April 25, 1916, a similar purposeless attack was made on Lowestoft and Yarmouth, but on this occasion only very trifling loss was inflicted."—*Ibid.*

"The attack or bombardment by any means whatever of undefended towns, villages, dwellings or buildings," is forbidden by Article 25 of the Hague Convention of 1907.

¹"This question of laying mines outside territorial waters was raised at the Second Hague Conference by the British Government when the German representative, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, said in answer to a British proposal to forbid mines as inhuman and dangerous to neutrals: 'The officers of the German navy, I say it loudly, will always fulfil in the strictest fashion the duties which the unwritten law of humanity and of civilisation lays on them.'"—Protocols of the Second Peace Conference, p. 55; quoted in the *National Review*, January, 1917.

²As in the case of the *Falaba*. It was stated, on the 19th of April, 1916, by the President of the Board of Trade, that up to that date 13,117 non-combatants had lost their lives from ships torpedoed by German submarines. "This," writes the *Matin* (June 3, 1916), "is another account to be added to those which the Allies will have to settle with this abominable nation and with its accomplices. When the day of reckoning comes, we must remember not only the peaceable peasants and bourgeois murdered or burnt alive, but the awful agony of the women and children who perished in the waves, while the brutal corsair looked on and jeered."

³A Dutchman on his return from a sea-voyage informed the *Telegraaf* that a Dutch ship, while in the Bay of Biscay, received the signal "S.O.S." On proceeding to the spot from which the signal came it found there a German submarine which was not in the least in distress, and the captain of which expressed great disappointment that the Dutch ship, which answered the signal, was not a British one.

They have fired on hospitals and ambulances.¹ They have poisoned the wells which supplied our East African troops with drinking water. It can hardly add to their infamy, if it be true, as reported, that they have used explosive bullets,² that they have attempted to infect the population of Bucharest with the germs of mortal disease,³

¹ Evidence was given before Lord Bryce's Committee showing "that the enemy shelled buildings on which the Red Cross Flag was conspicuously flying, even when so close to them that there could be no difficulty in making out the flag; that he fired on stretcher-bearers and ambulances; and that in one case a Red Cross depot was shelled on most days in the week."

² In a French work entitled *Comment l'Allemagne fait la Guerre*, there is given a photographic reproduction of an order, signed by the General in command of the 8th German Army Corps, forbidding the further use of explosive (dum-dum) bullets.—*Paroles Allemandes*, pp. 118, 130.

³ "The analysis made by Dr. Cantacerzene of the chocolates and other sweets dropped by the Bulgaro-German aviators in the course of their flights over the country, has proved conclusively that these bonbons contained the microbes of typhus and other maladies. The Roumanian Government will send copies of the analysts' report and samples of the poisoned sweets to the Governments of the neutral countries."—*The Near East*, November 24, 1916.

Documents have already been issued by the Roumanian Government showing that cases buried in the ground of the German Legation at Bucharest contained, amongst other things, explosives of a high order and cultures of anthrax and glanders bacilli. Inside the box, which contained the latter was a type-written note to the following effect: "Herewith four tubes for horses and four for horned cattle. Each tube is sufficient for 200 head. If possible administer direct through the animal's mouth; if not, in its fodder. Should be obliged for a little report on success. If there should be good news to report, Herr K.'s presence here for a day desirable."

Copies of the documentary evidence have been forwarded by the Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the neutral and allied Governments with a Note in which he says: "It has been proved, in a manner that is unfortunately beyond dispute, that before our declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, that is to say, at a period when the Roumanian Government was observing a strict neutrality and maintaining normal relations with the German Empire, the staff of the Imperial Legation violated all the rules of neutrality and all the duties of diplomatic representatives by introducing

or blown up Norwegian ships with their crews and passengers by means of bombs and infernal machines placed on them through the agency of their diplomatic representatives at Christiania.

There is no convention of the Hague which they have not violated.

The instances of their savage brutality given below form but an infinitesimal part of the abominable deeds which have been recorded against them in official reports.

"Namur was entered August 24. The troops signalled their entry by firing on a crowd of 150 unarmed, unresisting civilians, only ten of whom escaped. . . . As the inhabitants fled from the burning houses they were shot by the German troops."

"At Tamines a witness describes how he saw the public square littered with corpses, and after a search found the bodies of his wife and child, a little girl of seven."

"At Haecht several children were murdered. One of two or three years old was found nailed to the door of a farmhouse by its hands and feet—a crime which seems

secretly into the Roumanian capital considerable quantities of an extremely powerful explosive, and bacillus-cultures which were intended for the infection of domestic animals, and were in consequence likely to produce terrible murrains, as well as maladies transmissible to human beings.

"There is no possible doubt as to the manner in which the substances in question must have been introduced into Roumanian territory. The extremely rigorous measures of frontier police which were taken by the Roumanian Government from the beginning of the European War and were continually strengthened at later dates, are ample proof in themselves that these explosives and bacillus-cultures were despatched through diplomatic channels—as is corroborated by the seal of the German Consulate at Brasso, placed upon the box of microbe-cultures—and that they can only have reached the Imperial Legation through the agency of diplomatic couriers, protected by the special immunities attached to their office. The names of the successive consignees of the package of phials also make it possible to ascertain the time-limits within which the said cultures were imported into Roumanian territory."

almost incredible, but the evidence for which we feel bound to accept. In the garden of this house was the body of a girl who had been shot in the forehead."

"On one occasion children were roped together and used as a military screen against the enemy. On another, soldiers went into action carrying small children to protect themselves from flank fire."

"At Eppeghem the dead body of a child of two was seen pinned to the ground with a German lance."

"A witness from Malines states as follows: 'One day, when the Germans were not actually bombarding the town, I saw eight German soldiers in the street who were drunk. They were singing and making a lot of noise and dancing about. As the soldiers came along the street, I saw a small child—whether boy or girl I did not see—come out of a house. The child was about two years of age. The child came into the middle of the street, so as to be in the way of the soldiers. The soldiers were walking in twos. The first line of two passed the child. One of the second line, the man on the left, stepped aside and drove his bayonet with both hands into the child's stomach, lifting it into the air and carrying it away on his bayonet, he and his comrades still singing.'"

"A British lance-corporal tells how a party of wounded British soldiers were left in a chalk-pit, all very badly hurt and unable to offer any resistance. One of them, an officer, held up his handkerchief, as a white flag, which attracted the attention of a party of about eight Germans. The Germans came to the edge of the pit. It was getting dusk, but the light was still good and everything clearly discernible. One of them, who appeared to be carrying no arms and who, at any rate, had no rifle, came a few feet down the slope into the chalk-pit, within eight or ten yards of some of the wounded men. He looked at the men, laughed, and said something in German to the Germans who were waiting on the edge of the cliff. Thereupon one of them fired at the officer, then three or four of

the ten soldiers were shot, then another officer and the witness and the rest of the soldiers."

"On the 6th of September, at Champguyon, Mme. Lowet was present at the martyrdom of her husband. She saw him in the hands of ten or fifteen soldiers who were putting him to death before his own house, and ran up and kissed him through the bars of the gate. She was brutally pushed back and fell, while the murderers dragged along the unhappy man, covered with blood, begging them to spare his life and protesting that he had done nothing to be treated thus. . . . When his wife found his body, it was horribly disfigured. His head was beaten in, one of his eyes hung from the socket, and one of his wrists was broken."

On the 4th of September, German troops burnt the town of Clermont-en-Argonne, "and, while the houses blazed, the soldiers poured into the church, which stood by itself on the height, and danced there to the sound of the organ. Then, before leaving, they set fire to it with grenades as well as with vessels full of inflammable liquid. After the burning of Clermont, the bodies of the Mayor of Vauquois, M. Poinsignon, which was completely carbonised, and that of a young boy of eleven were found."

"At Menthe-et-Moselle about fifty soldiers forced their way into the house of M. Vassé, who had collected a number of people in his cellar in the Faubourg de Nancy. The refugees made an effort to flee, but they were struck down one after the other as they came out. M. Mantré was murdered first, then his son Léon fell with his little sister, aged eight, in his arms. As he was not killed outright, the end of the rifle barrel was put to his head, and his brains were blown out. It was next the turn of the Kieffer family. The mother was wounded in the arm and shoulder. The father and little boy, aged ten, and the little girl, aged three, were shot. The murderers continued to fire on them after they had fallen. Kieffer, stretched on the ground, received another bullet in the forehead, and his

son had the top of his head blown off by a shot. Last of all, M. Stuiffert and one of Vassé's sons were murdered while Mme. Mantré was wounded by three bullets. M. Guillaume was dragged into the street and there found dead. Simonin, a young girl of seventeen, came out last from the cellar with her sister Jeanne, aged three. The latter had her elbow almost carried off by a bullet."

"Nomeny, a pretty town of Gerbeviller, on the banks of the Mortagne, fell a victim to the fury of the Germans. . . . From the moment of their entry into the town, the Germans gave themselves up to the worst excesses, entering the houses with savage yells, burning the buildings, killing or arresting the inhabitants, sparing neither women nor old men. Out of 475 houses, 20 at most are still habitable. More than 100 persons have disappeared, of whom 50 at least have been massacred. Some were led into the fields to be shot; others were murdered in their houses or struck down as they passed through the streets, endeavouring to escape from the conflagration. Up to now 36 bodies have been identified. . . ."

"In the morning the enemy entered the house of M. and Mme. Lingenfeld, seized their son, thirty-six years of age, who wore the brassard of the Red Cross, tied his hands behind his back, dragged him into the street and shot him. They then returned to look for the father, an old man of seventy. Mme. Lingenfeld then took to flight. On her way she saw her son stretched on the ground and, as the unhappy man was still moving, some German soldiers drenched him with petrol to which they set fire in the presence of the terrified mother. Meanwhile M. Lingenfeld was led to La Prèle, where he was executed."

"At Hériménil, on the 29th of August, the enemy, who had arrived on the 24th, were guilty of monstrous acts. The inhabitants were invited to go to the church and were kept there for four days while their houses were sacked, and the French bombarded the village. A woman, who

had succeeded with great trouble in leaving the church for a moment, was returning with a little milk for the children. A captain, furious at seeing that this person had been allowed to pass, cried out: 'I did not intend that the door should be opened. I meant the French to fire on their own people.' This same captain a short time before was present when Mme. Winger, a young woman of twenty-three, was going to the church in obedience to the general order with her servants, a girl and two young women. Considering that their progress was too slow he directed the soldiers to fire on them and the four victims fell mortally wounded. The Germans left their bodies in the street for two days."

"A Belgian soldier, a volunteer, N——, being wounded in the arm, was captured by the Germans on August 18. He was brought with twenty-seven other prisoners by road along the Demer. Two German companies were placed there. All the prisoners were driven before them and shot. Those who, in order to escape the bullets, jumped into the Demer, were shot in the river. The witness threw himself on the ground, simulating death. A German soldier came close to him and, noticing that he was alive, prepared to shoot him. An officer interfered, saying that the man was not worth the bullet and ordered him to be thrown into the river. The witness succeeded in getting hold of the branches of a bush on the bank, spent the whole night in the water, and managed to escape in the morning. At Surice, while the village was burning, a group of some fifty or sixty persons of both sexes was driven along. The eighteen men were separated from the women and told that they were to be shot. Among them were the parish priests of Anthée, Onhaye, and Surice, and another ecclesiastic. There were fathers and sons side by side; opposite them were their mothers and daughters, wailing and praying. The massacre was carried out under their eyes. All the men fell together, mown down by one volley. One or two showed signs of life, whereupon the soldiers finished them off with the butt-ends of their rifles. They

then turned out the pockets of the dead and stripped off some of their clothes."

"At Bueken a massacre took place long after that hamlet had been occupied by the German troops. They had been staying there for ten days and the panic-stricken inhabitants had been doing their best to keep them in good temper by every possible means. On August 29 the men were all arrested and led to a meadow and their hands tied behind their backs. Then, according to the evidence of the witness who described the scene to us, eighteen men were shot including an old man of seventy and his three sons. They were executed in the presence of their wives and children. Before the volley was fired, an officer read out a sort of sentence of death, in which it was declared that one man was accused of being in possession of a book belonging to a German soldier. This book had been left by the soldier in the house where he had been quartered for the last ten days. Another man was declared to have been found carrying part of a German cartridge. The women, in the hope of saving the lives of their husbands, tried to call out, 'Long live Germany and the Kaiser.' When the massacre was over, the women and children were shut up in a room so small that no one could lie down. They were confined there for two days without food or drink."

"On reaching the square at Tamines the first thing we saw was a mass of bodies of civilians, extending for at least forty yards in length by six yards in depth. They had evidently been drawn up in rank to be shot. . . . An officer came forward and asked for volunteers to bury the bodies. . . . Fathers buried the bodies of their sons and sons those of their fathers. The women of the village had been marched out into the square and saw us at our work. All round were the burnt houses. There were in the square both soldiers and officers. They were drinking champagne. . . . We buried from 350 to 400 bodies. A list of the names of the victims has been drawn up. . . . While some of us were carrying the bodies, I saw some

people stop and call to a German doctor. They had noticed that the man, whom they were carrying, was still alive. The doctor examined the wounded man and made a sign that he was to be buried with the rest. The plank on which he was lying was borne on again. I saw the wounded man raise his arm elbow-high. They called to the doctor again but he made the gesture that he was to be thrown into the trench with the others."

"The Germans burnt, after sacking them, 264 houses in Tamines. Many persons including women and children were burnt or stifled in their own homes. Many were shot in the fields. The total number of victims was over 650. The commission of inquiry devoted special attention to ascertaining whether the inhabitants of the village had fired on the German troops. Every surviving witness unanimously declared the contrary."

"At the village of Warsage there was no inquiry. They cried out: 'Man hat geschossen' (*Some one has fired*) and they began to burn the neighbouring houses. They burst in the doors, broke the windows and dragged out the inhabitants. Two men were killed and about twenty-five houses and farms were set on fire. The soldiers fired through the open windows. I immediately intervened as Burgomaster and advised every one to keep calm. . . . The officer in command chose at least a dozen of the inhabitants, by chance including myself, and ordered us to march in front of the troops in silence with our hands behind our backs, declaring that if one shot were fired in the village, we should all be instantly shot. When we reached the camp we were commanded to lie down on the ground or to kneel, and observe absolute silence. . . . I declare that we were not questioned; they did not even tell us of what we were accused; there was not the smallest inquiry, no sort of investigation. We had been there about a quarter of an hour when they took six of the younger ones among us. They were Messrs. Leuter. . . . They led them about fifty metres away from the group, took off their jackets and shot them."

"Directly they arrived in the district called 'Fonds de Leffe' the soldiers entered the houses, expelled the occupants, killed the men and set fire to the houses. M. Victor Poncelet was killed in his house in front of his wife and children. M. Himmer, manager of the factory at Leffe and Vice-Consul of the Argentine Republic, was shot, with a number of his workmen: 152 of the staff of the factory were murdered. The Premonstratensian Church was, I am informed, entered during Mass. The men were dragged out and shot on the spot. One of the Fathers also was murdered. But what is the good of giving further details? One circumstance will sum up all. Of the whole population of this district only nine men (apart from old men) remain alive. The women and children were shut up in the Abbey, which was pillaged."

"The prisoners were arranged in a long row to serve as a screen against the fire of the French while the Germans defiled behind this living rampart. As soon as the French recognised the victims offered to them, they ceased to fire. A young lady, Mdle. Marsigny, was however killed before her parents' eyes. She was struck in the head by a French bullet. . . . The prisoners were exposed in this way for nearly two hours and then taken back to prison. The same thing occurred to a group of citizens who were exposed in the prison square to the fire of the French. They were made to keep their hands raised. They included a man of eighty, M. Laurent, the Hon. President of the Tribunal, his son-in-law, the judge, and the latter's wife and children. There were no casualties, as the French ceased fire and the Germans were able to cross without risk. . . . The number subjected to this treatment was at least 150. . . . About six o'clock, the others were taken to a place in front of my house, not far from the prison. There the able-bodied men were taken out and lined up in four rows against my garden wall. An officer addressed them in German and then, in the presence of the women and children, gave the order to fire. All fell down. The soldiers, looking on from the terrace formed by the garden of M. Fanquinet,

the architect, burst into fits of laughter. . . . I believe the exact number killed here was 129.

"The troops who came by the Froidval road occupied the district of Penant. The inhabitants were seized on the arrival of the Germans and kept under guard. . . . When the fire of the French slackened, the Germans began to construct a bridge, but they were still annoyed by a few shots. As these were infrequent, the Germans, honestly or otherwise, came to the conclusion that they were fired by *francs-tireurs*. They sent M. Bourdon, the Assistant Registrar of the Court, to announce that if the fire continued, all the prisoners would be executed. He did so, and, recrossing the Meuse, surrendered himself and informed the German officer that he had been able to make sure that only French soldiers were firing. A few more French bullets were fired, and then a monstrous event took place, which one's mind would refuse to believe, were it not that the survivors who bore witness and the gaping wounds of the dead bodies furnished absolutely conclusive proof. The whole mass of prisoners, men, women, and children, were pushed up against a wall and shot. Eighty victims fell at this spot. Was it here or at the Neffe Viaduct, which I mention later, that a three-months old child was killed? I no longer remember.

"That evening the Germans searched among the bodies. Under the heap a few poor wretches were still living. They were dragged out and added to some prisoners brought from elsewhere and put to dig a grave for the dead. They were to be deported to Germany. Among them was a fifteen-year-old boy, the son of Registrar Bourdon, who was found with the bodies of his father, mother, sister and brother.

"Those buried included a woman who was still living. She groaned, but it mattered not. She was thrown into the trench with the others.

"In the Neffe district the Germans searched the houses, burning a fair number but leaving the rest alone. Some of the people were left at liberty, others were expelled from their houses and shot on the road. Others again were arrested and taken to Germany. In some cases entire

families were murdered, without regard to age or sex, in particular the Guerigs and the Morelles.

"One house caught on fire where a woman was lying with a broken leg. Some of the people asked permission from the soldiers to rescue her. It was refused and she was burnt alive. . . . All Monday and Tuesday the pillaging was continued and the destruction of the city by fire was completed."

"A woman of Liège gave us revolting details of the manner in which the wounded transported into Germany were treated under her eyes. On October 27, she was returning by train from Brussels to Liège. 'At Landen,' she declares, 'I got down on the platform and approached a goods wagon. I saw there seven English soldiers, five wounded and two dead. The five wounded, so the German soldiers told me, had been there for four days. They complained bitterly. There was a military kitchen on the platform. A corporal of the 57th infantry took a bowl of soup and bent down before the wounded. They made as if to take the bowl, but the German soldiers kicked them in the stomach and the corporal returned the bowl. The other soldiers took buckets of water with a ladle and upset them over the Englishmen, soaking them with water and throwing the buckets over them. I said to the corporal: "It is disgraceful of you to ill-treat wounded men." He answered me in good French: "These swine have got to die." I answered: "Kill them then at once." And he said: "Don't be afraid. We are killing them all, but all in good time."'"

"André Willem, sacristan of the village of Schaffan, was tied to a tree and burnt alive."

"At Sempst were found the bodies of two men, partially carbonised. One of them had his legs cut off at the knees; the other had the arms and legs cut off. A workman had been struck several times by bayonets, and then, while still alive, the Germans had poured petroleum over him and thrown him into a house to which they set fire. A

woman who came out of her house was killed in the same way."

"Near Malines numerous corpses of peasants lay on the ground in a position of supplication, their arms lifted and their hands clasped."

"Some minutes passed: then under our eyes and amid the shrieks of women who were crying 'Shoot me too; shoot me with my husband!' and the wailing of the children, the men were lined up on the edge of the hollow way which runs from the high road to the bottom of the village. They waved last greetings to us, some with their hands, others with their hats or caps. The young Henri Jacques was leaning on the shoulder of one of the priests, as if to seek help and courage from him; he was sobbing, 'I am too young; I can't face death bravely.' Unable to bear the sight any longer, I turned my back to the road and covered my eyes with my hands. The soldiers fired a volley, and the men fell in a heap. Some one said to me, 'Look, they are all down!' But they were not all shot dead; several were finished off by having their skulls beaten in with rifle-butts. . . .

"When the massacre was over the Germans plundered the corpses."

"Old men and boys and even women and young girls were shot like rabbits. The slightest failure to comply with the peremptory demands of the invader was punished with instant death. The curé of Pradelle, having failed to find the key of the church tower, was put against the wall and shot; a shepherd near Rebais who failed to produce bread for the German troops had his head blown off by a rifle; a young mother at Bailleul who was unable to produce sufficient coffee to satisfy the demands of twenty-three German soldiers had her baby seized by one of the latter and its head dipped in scalding water."

"It was now 5.15 p.m. and I could see that the Germans had cut me and all these men off from our own troops. I took the men of the — Highlanders back to where the others

were. I now had about forty men with me. For the sake of the wounded men we decided to surrender. . . .

"I stood on the top of the parapet and held up my hands. A large party of Germans advanced. . . . When they drew near I said: 'We surrender.' One German, speaking English, said: 'All right, come along this way, every one.' . . .

"About thirty of these Germans led us into a circular traverse in Pekin Trench, and the English-speaking German said, Pack in there and stay.' All the Germans then went out of sight. . . .

"After we had been there about two minutes, a bomb was thrown into the traverse where we were, one bomb from one side and one from the other. I shouted to the men to clear out if possible. Only one man and myself jumped over the parapet. . . . I then jumped into a shell hole about fifteen yards from the traverse. It was almost full of water, in which I stood up to my neck. The other man was shot."

"At Elewijit, on the 27th, they amused themselves by mutilating the hands of four men: the three brothers Vander Aa and François Salu. A little further to the east the first German troops who had passed through Schafen, near Diest, on the 14th or 24th August, had there tortured the blacksmith Broeden. All day long he had laboured, shoeing the horses of the enemy's cavalry; only in the evening he repaired to the church with the sacristan, with the object of saving some precious articles, which had not been placed in security. He was seized by the soldiers. The Germans broke his wrists, his arms and his legs—perhaps he suffered yet other tortures. When he was practically lifeless. . . . they threw him head first into a ditch dug for the purpose; then the ditch was filled, leaving his feet protruding."

"Private J. C——, Scottish Fusiliers, 1st Batt.: 'At Locre, near Bailleul, I was billeted in the church there at the beginning of December. The church had not been

shelled, but had been looted and the crucifixes had been smashed, and all the images and things of value appeared to have been torn away.’ ”

“Private S——, C Company, 1st King’s R.R.: ‘It was on September 11, I can never forget that date, it was after we left the Marne, and a day or two before the Aisne, we were engaged with the enemy at a distance of about 1200 yards. They put up a white flag in their centre and waved it from side to side. We stopped firing, whereupon they fired heavily from their right flank. A second time they put up the white flag, this time on the right flank; but we took no notice of this and kept on firing.’ ”

“J. G——, Lance-Corporal, King’s Own, 1st Batt.: ‘At the end of November, the second day after we arrived at Nieppe, two of us entered an estaminet and found the landlady crying; she told us that about thirteen Germans violated her daughter and shot her husband against a wall in front of her eyes. She said there were a lot of other cases in Nieppe.’ ”

“Private K——, 1st Loyal North Lanes: ‘On Monday night we attacked them and took two trenches. Everything was quiet till the next morning except for sniping. At about 8.30 they advanced upon us, and the officer of — Company, seeing the men were overpowered, put up the white flag, and the men put their hands up to surrender. The Germans advanced, and when they got up to the trenches, they shot them each in their trenches as they stood. *I saw this. I was on the left flank.*’ ”

“Private W——, [in the first Camerons]: ‘We were advancing, Black Watch on our right, Scots Guards on our left. Germans put up white flag and we advanced to take prisoners. At thirty yards they opened their ranks, and machine-guns concealed behind fired upon us, the Germans in front also firing their rifles.’ ”

“Private S——, 1st Batt. Glo’sters: ‘On August 26, first day of retreat from Fevrel, we were leaving the

trenches, B Co. covering us on the left. It was just where Captain S—— was shot. Private L——, who had been shot twice, was bayoneted when lying on the ground by two Germans. I and the whole Company saw it.’”

“J. B——, Despatch Rider, Signal Co., 1st Div. R.E.: ‘About September 16, near Paissy. At a distance of about 300 yards we saw through our glasses one of our despatch-riders (A—— of Signal Co., R.E.), shot while riding his motor-cycle; he fell off, and while lying on ground was speared by three Uhlans, one after the other. Uhlans attempted to burn him with his own petrol, but made off when they saw us coming. We found his body half-burned when we reached it.’”

Statements taken down, after cross-examination by a Staff Officer at General Headquarters, as to incidents in the neighbourhood of Ypres:—

“Private B. S——, 1st Black Watch, says that he saw Germans bayonet our wounded as they lay on the ground. He was wounded in the leg himself, but, seeing this, he managed to get away.

“Afterwards he was with German wounded, who told him that they had been ordered to kill all English prisoners.”

Statement by Major——, O.C. of a Cavalry Field Ambulance: “On October 17, at Moorslede, north-east of Ypres, the Germans were reported as having strangled a young baker in this place. The inhabitants stated that he had been taken by the Germans to bake for them, and that he attempted to escape. The enemy caught him and stuffed a woollen scarf he was wearing down his throat, causing suffocation. One of my officers, Lieut. P——, viewed the body in the convent next day, and found the scarf stuffed in the man’s throat.”

Driver B——, R.F.A.: “Somewhere between Chantilly and Villers-Cotterets, about the end of August, just after we started advancing, we were marching through a village, and the villagers called us into a house and showed us the

body of a middle-aged man, with both arms cut off by a sword, pointed to him and said 'Allemands.' They told our R.A.M.C. men in French that he had been killed when trying to protect his daughter.

"In the next village, before we got to the Aisne, the villagers showed us the dead body of a woman, naked, on the ground, badly mutilated, her breasts cut off, and her body ripped up. They said 'Allemands.'"

Private W. D——, Hampshires: "About seven weeks ago, when the Germans tried hard to break through, we were about two hours from a place which we call the Château, where the Germans pitched shell every day, especially at a big tower place which is there. Our platoon were in the trenches in the order left to right of 5,6,7,8, and then came C Company in their trenches. The wounded left with the dead in the C trench were half buried by its having been blown in. The Germans enfiladed the wounded, shot them, bayoneted them, jumped on them."

"A. X., of the 26th Regiment, deposes as follows: He was ordered, and the order was read to the regiment, to kill everybody and everything met with in the course of the campaign, and to destroy everything Serbian. . . . A peasant who served as guide to the troops was shot by Commandant Stenger and his soldiers. . . . A Croatian named Dochan boasted of having killed a woman, a child, and two old men and invited his comrades to come with him to see his victims."

"E. X., of the 6th Regiment of Infantry, states that the Hungarian captain, Nobosnai, gave orders before crossing the frontier that everything living should be killed from children of five to the oldest men. When the frontier had been crossed and the troops had arrived at the first Serbian village, the captain gave orders that two hundred houses should be burnt and every one killed, even the children in the cradle. About thirty women, children and old men

were taken prisoners and driven before the troops during the fight. E. X. saw these civilians wounded or killed by the bullets of the opposing forces. This happened at Okolischte."

"Lieutenant Draguicha Stoiadinovitch, 13th Regiment of Infantry, deposes as follows: 'On the 7th and 8th August, being in command of the advance sentries, my rounds took me to the village of Zoulkovitch and its neighbourhood. I saw in a ravine the bodies of twenty-five boys from twelve to sixteen years of age and two old men of more than sixty years heaped one upon the other, mutilated with bayonet thrusts and pierced with bullets. Exploring a house I found in it two dead women; their bodies were riddled with bullets. In another house an old woman lay dead with her daughter. . . . Near a fire-place, in which the fire had gone out, was seated an old man covered with bleeding wounds inflicted with bayonets, haggard and dying. He said to me: "I don't know how it happens that I am still alive. For three days I have sat here looking on my dead wife and child, whose bodies lie before the door. After having covered us with shame they brutally bayoneted us and then the cowards took to flight." In a court,' continues the lieutenant, 'I found a little boy of four years old who had been thrown there after being killed. His body had been partially eaten by dogs. Near him lay a young woman in whose lap had been placed her nursling child with its throat cut. . . . On the floor an old woman, who had also been killed, was just visible under a heap of carpets. On the opposite side of the village I found two old men killed before the door of a little cottage. Opposite the latter two young girls were stretched out dead. The peasants told me that the Austrians had brought all the inhabitants of both sexes, including the children, to their camp and ordered them to shout "Long live the brave Austrian army! Long live the Emperor Francis Joseph!" and those who refused were shot on the spot.' " . . .

"Lieutenant Ievreme Georgevitch, Drina division, states

that, in the Commune of Dornitza, Maxime Vositah, aged fifty-three, was killed by being fastened to the wheel of a mill which was set in motion. Every time the wheel brought him round before the Austrian soldiers they amused themselves by plunging their bayonets into him."

"Colonel Dioura Dokitch, commanding the 20th Regiment of Infantry of the first Ban, states: 'In the meadow near the brook on the left bank of the Iadar I saw the following scene. . . . A group of men, women, and children, fifteen in all, stretched out dead and joined together by their hands, the majority being killed with the bayonet. A young girl had been struck with the bayonet in the left jaw and the blade had come out by the cheek-bone. Many of the corpses had no teeth.' "

"I have already mentioned the deposition of Colonel D. X., of the 28th Regiment of Infantry, who stated that he had been present at the massacre of sixty civilians near the church at Shabatz. I ascertained that there was in fact a large common pit behind the church of Shabatz and I had it opened. The pit was 10 metres long and 3.50 metres wide. At a depth of one metre a number of bodies, heaped together in different positions, were disclosed. Some had their feet uppermost; others lay on their sides, or were doubled up. Everything showed that the bodies were covered with earth, just as they fell into the pit. How many of those who were thus buried were alive at the time? . . . The age of the victims, to judge by the bodies, varied between ten and eighty. It was impossible to determine exactly the number of people buried in this grave. I personally ascertained that there were at least eighty."

"Near the railway station at Lechnitza there is a common pit 20 metres long, 3 metres broad and 2 metres deep. In this pit are buried 109 prisoners aged between eighteen and eighty. They were hostages from a neighbouring village, whom the Austro-Hungarians brought to this place, where they had already begun to dig their graves. They

were bound together with ropes, encircled by a wire. Then the soldiers took their place on the railway embankment, about 50 metres from the victims, and fired at them. They all fell down the pit and other soldiers immediately covered them with earth without ascertaining whether they were dead or only wounded. But it is certain that some of them were not mortally wounded, and some perhaps were not wounded at all, but they were put into the grave with the others and buried alive.

"While this execution was going on, a second group of prisoners was brought up, and when the first were shot these others were forced to shout: 'Long live the Emperor Franz-Josef!'

"I had this pit opened and have satisfied myself by the position of the bodies that they fell pell-mell into the hole. It seems that some of them tried to escape from the pit."

"In the town of Shabatz more than 1000 safes were opened and rifled. I could only find in the town two safes remaining unbroken, and there were marks upon those showing clearly that an unsuccessful attempt had been made to open them."

"Ivan Efremow, of a Cossack Regiment, received a wound in his leg at Tarnowa, May 23, 1915, and was made prisoner. As he professed ignorance in reply to a number of questions regarding the position of the Russian forces, the interpreting officer struck him several times with his fist in the face. . . .

"He was then led into another room where he was stripped and placed upon a table. . . . The officer took a needle, attached to the wires of an electrical machine, and applied it to Efremow's leg. Efremow, in spite of the electric shock, refused to answer the questions. This torture lasted half an hour, and one of the doctors watched Efremow's pulse all the time.

"On the fourth day, Efremow was again interrogated. . . . The interpreting officer brought a red-hot bar of iron

about as thick as a finger, and ordered his men to place the prisoner in a sitting posture on a chair. The doctors then took hold of his arms, while the officer lifted up his legs and rubbed the red-hot iron over the soles of his feet. . . . He fainted. . . . He subsequently escaped, and a medical examination confirmed the truth of his story."

"A Russian prisoner, who escaped, recounted before the Commission how an officer ordered the killing of a Cossack captured at the same time as himself. Two soldiers dragged the Cossack aside and hacked the whole of his body with big knives.

"They tore off some strips of skin from the shoulders to the legs, and did not cease their barbarity until the man was dead."

"In the latter half of June the regiment, in which this witness was one of the rank and file, took part in a battle near Ivangorod. When the fighting was over, the regiment settled down to rest. Some of the men, however, went to help the sanitary attendants to bring in the wounded and place them in a wooden cart-house or shed, roofed with straw, at one end of the village. According to statements made by the Red Cross bearers, from sixty-six to sixty-eight men were lodged in this building. At eleven o'clock at night there was a sudden and violent rattle of rifle fire. The village had been surrounded by the Germans. The witness seized his rifle and started to leave with three comrades, but in the darkness they stumbled into a German trench, and were taken prisoners. Their weapons were taken from them, and all four Russians were led to the same cart-shed to which the witness Doruzhka had assisted to carry the Russian wounded. A German officer on the spot gave an order to his German soldiers, and then he gathered up an armful of the straw littered over the floor of the shed, placed it against one of the corners of the building, and set fire to it with a match. The witness declares that he almost fainted when he saw this officer setting fire to the shed. The straw blazed up at once, the

flames began to envelop the wooden walls, and when it reached the roof, piercing shrieks came from the wounded inmates calling for help. At this moment the officer, who fired the shed, approached the prisoners, who were standing near, and without uttering a word, he discharged his revolver point blank at one of the comrades of the witness, who instantly fell to the ground dead. Then this officer struck witness's other comrade with something in the lower part of the body, and by the light of the conflagration witness noticed that the man's intestines were protruding. Doruzhka rushed to one side and managed to break away from a group of German soldiers and escaped unhurt, although three shots were fired after him. The witness, after tramping all night, fell in with one of the Russian pickets.

"The foregoing was deposed to by the witness Doruzhka on examination by the Examining Magistrate of the 1st Dnieprovsky District."

"In their leisure moments the German soldiers amused themselves with practical joking at the expense of the prisoners. They announced that an extra portion of food would be given out, and when the Russians hurried to the kitchen, a whole pack of dogs were let loose on them. The animals flew at the prisoners and dispersed them in all directions, while the Germans looked on and roared with laughter. Sometimes the prisoners were offered an extra ladle of soup, or piece of bread, if they would expose their backs to a certain number of blows with a whip. Our hungry and tormented soldiers often bought an extra piece of bread at this price, and it was thrown to them as if they had been dogs."

"Having received no food for two days, the Russian prisoners, who fully expected to get some bread at this station, were gazing with hungry and longing looks into the distance, when they saw women dressed as Sisters of Mercy distributing bread and sausages to the German soldiers. One of these Sisters went up to the truck in which

I was standing, and a Russian soldier at the door stretched out his hand for something to eat, but the woman simply struck it and smeared the soldier's face with a piece of sausage. She then called all the prisoners 'Russian swine' and went away from the side of the train."

"Well may the Russian Government say in their covering communication that 'the forms of punishment'—if we can speak of punishment when no offence had been committed—'remind one of the tortures of the Middle Ages.' Other documents in my possession recite how the prisoners were harnessed to ploughs and carts, like cattle, and lashed with long leather whips; how a man, who fainted from exhaustion, was immediately bayoneted, while another who fell out of the ranks to pick up a rotten turnip shared a like fate; how wounded men were forced to stand naked for hours in the frost until gangrene set in, tied up for hours to posts with their toes just touching the ground until, the blood rising to the head, copious hæmorrhage took place from the mouth, nose and ears; how yet others who, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, could not keep up on the march, were bayoneted or clubbed where they lay. As for the conduct of the German populace, let the following speak for itself—

"The peaceful inhabitants along the routes traversed in Germany showed the greatest hostility towards the prisoners; whom they reviled as "Russian swine and dogs." Women and even children threw stones and sand at them, and spat right in their faces. . . . Even the wounded men were not spared by these demented Germans, who struck them, pulled their moustaches, and spat in their faces.' "

The above examples of Teutonic modes of warfare are taken almost at random from the Belgian Official Reports on the Violation of the Rights of Nations and the Laws and Customs of War, the Official Report of the French Commission, the Report of the Committee appointed by

His Majesty's Government, under the presidency of Lord Bryce, the Official Investigation by Professor Morgan and the Official Report by R. A. Reiss, Professor of Criminology at the University of Lausanne, who was deputed by the Serbian Government to inquire into the atrocities committed by the Austro-Hungarian troops. They are based for the most part on the testimony of eye-witnesses. Infinite pains were taken to sift the evidence, as will be seen from the following quotations from the prefaces of these works.

"There might be some exaggeration in one witness, possibly delusion in another, inaccuracy in a third. When, however, we found that things that had, at first, seemed improbable were testified to by many witnesses, coming from different places, having had no communication with one another, and knowing nothing of one another's statements, the points in which they all agreed became more and more evidently true. And when this convergence of testimony, this convergence upon what were substantially the same broad facts, showed itself in hundreds of depositions, the truth of these broad facts stood out beyond question. The force of the evidence is accumulative. Its worth can be estimated only by perusing the testimony as a whole. If any further confirmation had been needed, we found it in the diaries in which German officers and private soldiers have recorded instances just such as those to which the Belgian witnesses depose.¹

"It [our Report] includes, however, a very limited part of the findings at which we should have been able to arrive, if we had not submitted all the evidence, which was before us, to severe criticism and rigorous examination. We have, indeed, believed it to be our duty only to place on record those facts which, being established beyond dispute, constitute with absolute certainty what may be clearly termed crimes, omitting those, the proving of which were, in our view, insufficient, or which, however destructive and cruel they were, might have been the results of acts of war prop-

¹Report of the Committee appointed by H.B.M. Government.

erly so-called, rather than of wilful excesses, attributable to the enemy.

"Thus we are convinced that none of the incidents which we have investigated could be disputed in good faith. In addition, the proof of each of them does not depend only on our personal observations; it is founded chiefly on photographs and on a mass of evidence received in judicial form, with the sanction of an oath. . . .

"In truth, it can be stated that never has a war carried on between civilised nations, assumed the savage and ferocious character of the one which at this moment is being waged on our soil by an implacable adversary. Pillage, rape, arson, and murder are the common practice of our enemies; and the facts which have been revealed to us day by day at once constitute definite crimes against common rights, punished by the codes of every country with the most severe and the most dishonouring penalties and prove an astonishing degeneration in German habits of thought since 1870."¹

"In the pages of this book there is unfolded, in the sober and restrained language of a sworn judicial statement, the story of shameful and unspeakable crimes. It is the plain narrative, in all its poignant reality, of the outrages committed by the German soldiery when opposed to the chivalrous and heroic resistance of the Belgian nation. We finish its perusal with a shudder of horror. And yet there remains with us the thought that the inquiry of which it is the outcome is still proceeding, that there are other large areas to which it has not been possible to extend investigations, that the picture of carnage and destruction is therefore still incomplete, and that as yet we know but a part of the truth. The veil will be lifted only as Belgium is cleared of the enemy; as this work proceeds the melancholy list of crimes and misdeeds will assuredly be lengthened.

"For the honour of humanity and of the twentieth century we might well desire that we were not compelled to

¹Official Report of the French Commission on German Atrocities in France. English Translation published by the *Daily Chronicle*.

give full credence to the stories of the atrocious acts, which have been committed far from the field of battle and in the by-ways, as it were, of the theatre of war. Unhappily doubt is not admissible. The book is a clear, precise, and synthetic summary of statements made by actual witnesses—persons who have seen with their own eyes the deeds to which they testify; many, indeed, have either endured tortures themselves or have suffered through those who were dearest to them. One and all have spoken their woes with hearts overflowing and eyes filled with tears. Their testimony is confirmed by indisputable proofs.

“These are to be found in the ruined heaps, which encumber the streets of Belgian towns and country roads, more particularly in the district of the Meuse, from Dinant to Hastière, and in those of Aerschot, Louvain, Malines and Termonde; in the shattered walls, the tottering gables, and the sad fire-blackened stones, which remain as landmarks tracing the route followed by devastating and murderous hordes.

“And, again, they are to be found in the printed proclamations issued by the German commanders, which are still to be seen, although partly destroyed by the flames, on all wall spaces in the towns and villages. These serve to show the extent of the error into which leaders may be drawn by a spirit of ferocity, and to make one realise the blind and pitiless savagery which, in many places, has filled the ordinary soldiery and stimulated them to commit the worst excesses.

“All the evidence has been certified and submitted to severe criticism by the Commission appointed by the Belgian Minister of Justice at the beginning of the war. The Commission was instructed to conduct an inquiry into acts committed in violation of International Law by the invaders of the country. Meetings have been held at Brussels, Antwerp and Havre; a Delegation appointed by the Commission also met in London. The names of the eminent men appointed as members of the Commission are in themselves a sufficient guarantee of high competence and, at the same time, of absolute impartiality.”¹

¹ Preface to the *Report of the Official Belgian Commission*.

"My method of inquiry was twofold—I availed myself of both oral evidence and written evidence. As regards the former, the evidence taken at the base hospitals was wholly of this character. The method which I adopted in taking it was as follows:—

"I made it a rule to explain to the soldier or officer, at the outset, that the inquiry was an official one, and that he must be prepared to put his name to any testimony he might elect to give.

"I allowed the soldier to tell his story in his own way and in his own words; but after, or in the course of, the recital, I always cross-examined him as to details, inquiring in particular (1) whether he directly witnessed the event himself; (2) what was the date and place of the occurrence—to establish these, I have frequently gone over the operations with the witness with the aid of a military map and a diary of the campaign; (3) whether, in the case of hearsay evidence, he heard the story direct from the subject of it, and, in particular, whether he was versed in the language employed; (4) whether he could give me the name of any person or persons with him, particularly officers, who also witnessed the event or heard the story.

"After such cross-examination I then took down the narrative, if satisfied that it possessed any value, read it over to the soldier, and then obtained his signature. This, however, was often only the first stage, as I have not infrequently been able to obtain confirmation of the evidence so obtained, by subsequent inquiries at General or Divisional Headquarters, either among members of the staff or from company officers or from the civil authorities. . . .

"I have often found the statements so made subsequently corroborated; I have rarely, if ever, found them contradicted. I ascribe this result to my having applied rigid rules as to the reception of evidence in the first instance."¹

"I conducted my inquiry with every necessary precau-

¹ *German Atrocities: an Official Investigation*, by J. H. Morgan, M.A., late Home Office Commissioner with the British Expeditionary Force.

tion. I did not limit myself to interrogating hundreds of Austrian prisoners and hundreds of eye-witnesses; I went to the spot, sometimes with shells bursting around me, to inform myself of everything that it was possible to investigate; I opened graves; I examined the dead and wounded; I visited bombarded towns; I went into houses and I carried on there a scientific inquiry, using the most scrupulous methods. In short, I did my utmost to investigate and verify the facts which I report in this work." ¹

The Russian Official Commission, appointed to inquire into the subject of atrocities committed upon Russian peasants includes: "Instances of mutilation, eyes and tongues torn out, the killing and burning of the wounded, outrages on women and children, pillages, and contributions levied on captured villages."

Let those who have any lingering doubt as to the truth of these stories read the statements of the witnesses themselves. They will see that those who have investigated them, far from exaggerating, have erred on the other side and refrained from recording events which some juries might consider as "non proven."

¹ *Comment les Austro-Hongrois ont fait la guerre en Serbie*, by Professor R. A. Reiss, Librairie Almand Colin, Paris.

VII

THE TESTIMONY OF GERMAN SOLDIERS AND OTHER EVIDENCE

THE following incidents are recorded in the diaries of German officers and soldiers killed or captured by the Allies. Facsimiles of some of them are given in the works of Dampierre, Bédier,¹ etc. It will be noticed in a few cases that the German soldiers themselves were ashamed of the black crimes they committed.

"At Louvain 180 inhabitants are stated to have been shot after digging their own graves. . . ."

"August 24: We took about a thousand prisoners. At least five hundred were shot. The village was burnt and its inhabitants were also shot." ²

The German soldier Matbern, of the 4th Company of Jägers, states in his diary that at a village between Birnal and Dinant, on August 23, "about 220 inhabitants were shot and the village was burnt. . . . All villages, châteaux, and houses were burnt down during the night. It was a beautiful sight to see the fires all round us in the distance."

"Mutilation of the wounded is the order of the day," wrote Paul Gloede of the 9th Pioneers in his diary.

"How many innocent people must have fallen with those who were shot! The village has been literally pillaged. The Huns and the *lansquenets* of the Middle Ages

¹ *Les Crimes Allemands, d'après des témoignages allemands.*

² From the diaries of German soldiers, names unknown.

could not have done better. Houses are still burning, and, where the fire did not destroy them, we rased to the ground what was left standing.”—(*From the notebook of a German Officer mortally wounded at Gozée, “Belgian Official Report,”* vol. ii. pp. 168-70.)

“The inhabitants, without exception (*samt-und-sonders*) were brought out and shot. This shooting was heartbreaking, as they all knelt down and prayed, but that was no ground for mercy. A few shots rang out, and they fell back into the green grass and slept for ever.”—(*From the diary of Eitel Anders.*)

“After shooting in one night more than seventy civilians, we sat down to eat our night meal among the dead bodies. We had eaten nothing since the morning. The requisition in the houses brought us quantities of wine and liqueurs, but no provisions.”—(*Diary of Private P. H. of 178th Regiment of Infantry. Facsimile published in “L’Allemagne et le Droit des Gens.”*)

“The charming village of Gué d’Hossus appears to have been burnt down without any cause. A cyclist, they say, fell from his machine which caused his gun to go off. Immediately he was fired at. The male inhabitants were simply flung into the flames. It is to be hoped that such horrors (*Scheusslichkeiten*) will not recur. At Leppes about two hundred men were shot. There it was necessary to make an example, and if innocent people had to suffer that was inevitable, but one ought to require a verification of any suspicion of culpability in order to control this shooting without distinction of all the men.” (*From a notebook found on a Saxon Officer; “L’Allemagne et le Droit des Gens,* p. 247.)

“The carnage was horrible. The village was completely burnt down, the French were thrown into the houses on fire, civilians and all burnt together.”—(*Diary of the German Soldier Hassemmer at Sommepey (Marne): “Paroles Allemandes,”* p. 166.)

"At Linge viller, August 22, the village was destroyed by the 11th Battalion Pioneers. Three women were hanged from the trees."—(*From an unsigned diary: "Paroles Allemandes,* p. 167.)

"Together with Möbins I regaled myself in a house on preserved French vegetables. That day I ate of fifteen different kinds of things just as they came. There was wine too, and handkerchiefs. . . . That day anyhow I satisfied my hunger."—(*From the diary of a Non-Commissioned Officer, O.L.: "L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens,"* p. 155.)

"The village of Sensenruth has been taken by assault and pillaged. Cigarettes, cream, honey, handkerchiefs, stockings. The men plunder and sack the houses one by one. At the house of the schoolmaster the cellar has been emptied, red wine, champagne."—(*From the diary of the Non-Commissioned Officer Sch—— VIII Reserve Corps, 69th Infantry Regiment: "L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens,"* p. 161.)

"Incendiary bombs were thrown into the houses. In the evening military choral service: 'Nun danket alle Gott' (*Now thank we all our God*)."—(*From the diary of Moritz Grosse, 177th Infantry: Bédier, "Les Crimes Allemands d'après des témoignages allemands,"* p. 28.)

"The inhabitants fled through the village. It was horrible. Blood was plastered on all the houses, and as for the faces of the dead, they were hideous. They were all buried at once, to the number of sixty. Among them many old men and women, and one woman about to be delivered. It was a ghastly sight. There were three children who had huddled close to one another and had died together. The altar and the ceiling of the church had fallen in. They had been telephoning to the enemy. And this morning, September 2, all the survivors were driven out, and I saw four little boys carrying on two poles a cradle in which was a child of five to six months old. All this was horrible to

see. A blow for a blow. Thunder for thunder. Everything was pillaged. And I also saw a mother with her two little ones: and one had a large wound in the head, and had lost an eye."—(*From the diary of P. Spielmann, Ersatz Battalion, 1st Guard Infantry Brigade. The reference is to a massacre of people in a village near Blamont on September 1, 1914: "Les Crimes Allemands d'après des témoignages allemands," pp. 7-8.*)

"In this way we destroyed eight houses with their inmates. In one of them two men with their wives and a girl of eighteen were bayoneted. The little one almost unnerved me, so innocent was her expression. But it was impossible to check the crowd, so excited were they, for in such moments you are no longer men but wild beasts."—(*Unsigned diary: "Les Crimes Allemands d'après des témoignages allemands," p. 17.*)

"This way of making war is absolutely barbarous. I am astonished that we could make any complaint of the conduct of the Russians, for we conduct ourselves in France in a much worse fashion; and on every occasion and on the smallest pretext we have burnt and plundered. *But God is just and sees everything. His mills grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small.*"—(*From the diary of Non-Commissioned Officer X. of the 46th Regiment of Infantry, 5th Reserve Corps: Bédier, "Comment l'Allemagne essaie de justifier ses crimes," p. 46.*)

"When the offensive becomes difficult, we gather together the Russian prisoners and hunt them before us towards their compatriots, while we attack the latter at the same time. In this way our losses are sensibly diminished. We cannot but make prisoners. Each Russian soldier when made prisoner will now be sent in front of our lines, in order to be shot by his fellows."—(*Extract from the diary of a German Soldier forwarded by the Extraordinary Commission of Inquiry instituted by the Russian Government: "German Atrocities," by J. H. Morgan, p. 98.*)

"December 19, 1914: The sight of the trenches and the fury, not to say bestiality, of our men in beating to death the wounded English affected me so much that, for the rest of the day, I was fit for nothing."—(*Extract from a diary of a German Soldier of the 13th Regiment, 13th Division, VIIth Corps, captured by the Fifth (French) Army, and reproduced in the First (British) Army Summary, No. 95: Ibid., p. 99.*)

(After promising to send a ring made out of a shell.) "It will be a nice souvenir for you from a German warrior, who has been through everything from the start and has shot and bayoneted so many Frenchmen, and I have bayoneted many women. During the fight at Batonville [?Badonviller] I bayoneted seven (7) women and four (4) young girls in five (5) minutes. We fought from house to house and these women fired on us with revolvers; they also fired on the captain too, then he told me to shoot them all—but I bayoneted them and did not shoot them, this herd of sows, they are worse than the men."—(*Contents of a letter found on a prisoner of the 86th Regiment, but written by Johann Wenger, 10th Company Body Regiment, 1st Brigade, 1st Division I.A.C. Bav., dated 16th March, 1915, Péronne, and addressed to a German girl: Ibid., p. 99.*)

"Here, also, things take place which ought not to be; yes, atrocities are committed here also, but naturally on the English and Belgians; all are shot down without mercy." (*Extract from the diary of a German Soldier, Richard Gerhold: Ibid., p. 103.*)

"The Bavarians make hardly any prisoners; they kill those they capture with their knives."—(*Letter found on a German Soldier in Poland.*)

Professor Bédier ¹ gives three facsimiles of portions of an article by Non-Commissioned Officer Klemt, published in the *Jauersches Tageblatt*, October 18, 1914, entitled

¹ *Les Crimes Allemands d'après des témoignages allemands*, p. 34.

"A Day of Honour for our Regiment, 24th September 1914." He describes how on that date his force left Hanonville in the morning, and, supported on the march by Austrian batteries, was suddenly received by a double fire from artillery and infantry. The losses were enormous. And yet the enemy was invisible. At last, however, it was seen that the firing came from above, from trees where French soldiers were posted. From now on I shall no longer summarise but quote.

"We brought them down like squirrels, and gave them a warm reception, with blows of the butt and the bayonet: they no longer need doctors: we are no longer fighting loyal enemies but treacherous brigands.

"By leaps and bounds we got across the clearing. They were here, there and everywhere hidden in the thicket. Now it is down with the enemy! And we will give them no quarter. Every one shoots standing, a few, a very few, fire kneeling. No one tries to take shelter. We reach a little depression in the ground: here the red trousers dead or wounded lie in a heap on the ground. We knock down or bayonet the wounded, for we know that those scoundrels fire at our backs when we have gone by. There was a Frenchman there stretched out, full length, face down, pretending to be dead. A kick from a strong fusilier soon taught him that we were there. Turning round, he asked for quarter, but we answered: 'Is that the way your tools work, you ——' and he was nailed to the ground. Close to me I heard odd, cracking sounds. They were blows from a gun on the bald head of a Frenchman which a private of the 154th was dealing out vigorously; he was wisely using a French gun so as not to break his own. Tender-hearted souls are so kind to the French wounded that they finish them with a bullet, but others give them as many thrusts and blows as they can.

"Our adversaries had fought bravely. . . . But whether wounded slightly or severely, the brave fusiliers spare their country the cost of caring for many enemies."

"In some cases without any military necessity, or any

pretence that a crime had been committed, whole populations have been dispersed by superior orders as in the ancient days of slavery, and the men have been carried away to a distance and the women have been left on the spot or removed elsewhere. Thus, at Valenciennes, as we learn from the diary of a soldier, Heinrich B—— on the 26th of September 1914, all the male inhabitants between eighteen and forty-eight were arrested and sent to Germany. And in the diary of another soldier, Conrad B——, with reference to the same event it is stated that 'we had to turn the civilians out of their houses and conduct them to the station.' ”¹

“Order passed to shoot all the male inhabitants . . . a frightful Sunday.”²

“In the diary of a German officer which came into my possession an entry recording the indiscriminating butchery of some two hundred civilians concluded with the otiose remark: ‘In future there ought to be an inquiry into their guilt instead of shooting them.’ ”³

“We were passing through an industrial district of the Walloon country. A young woman, or rather a little girl, greeted us with a long nose. A lieutenant had her seized, drew his sword and cut off her wrist. ‘Thus,’ said he, ‘will everybody be punished who dares to insult the German flag.’ . . .

“I had been, until then, a good German; after this, I recognised that this was not the race to which I belonged, and I took an oath to escape as soon as I could from the humiliation of being with such brutes.”⁴

¹ *L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, pp. 150-1. The deportations which have been carried out so extensively during the last few months had already begun at this early date. (See above, p. 150.)

² From a German soldier's diary. See Professor Morgan, *German Atrocities*, p. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴ Statement made by a German deserter, the son of a German engineer and a Polish lady, and formerly an officer in the Reserve; published in *The Temps*, July 18, 1915. (See below, p. 246.)

"In an encampment of prisoners in France," writes the Spanish Count Melgar, to the *Matin* of the 3rd January, 1916, "I had occasion to read a number of diaries found on German soldiers. There I found a complete confirmation of their Emperor's orders:¹ 'To-day we have shot forty men at H.; to-day we have burnt, with petroleum, all the houses at L. together with their inmates!' It is superfluous to add that I have seen with my own eyes hundreds of mutilated Belgians and that I have gathered from the lips of nuns and priests, of unimpeachable character, facts of appalling horror."

There are no doubt thousands of crimes which have not come to the notice of various committees, but which are none the less authentic, as, for instance, the case of the little boy of seven who was shot dead at Senlis by a German soldier, at whom he had playfully pointed his toy gun.²

¹Alluding to a letter which Count Melgar alleges the Kaiser addressed to the Emperor Francis Joseph saying: "My heart bursts with grief at such a thought, but it is absolutely necessary to put everything to fire and sword; to slaughter men and women, the aged as well as children, and not to leave a single tree standing or a single roof intact. If we adopt this régime of terror—the only one which befits a vile people like the French—it is certain that the war will be over within two months, while, if we show respect for the principles of humanity, it might continue for several years. I shall, therefore, have recourse to this method, which in spite of appearance, will save bloodshed." . . .

²This incident was pathetically described in the following lines by the French poet, Miguel Zamacoïs:—

"C'est un petit garçon. . . . C'est un petit bonhomme
Heureux de rien . . . de tout . . . d'un bâton, d'une pomme.
Il a des yeux rieurs, des cheveux en crinière:
Il est fier, car depuis la semaine dernière
Il sait siffler entre ses dents!

"Nous le connaissons bien. Il méprise les 'filles';
Sa poche n'en peut plus de ficelle et de billes;
De tout un bagage enfantin;
Il montre quatre sous qu'il croit être une somme;
Rit du matin au soir, et ne fait qu'un grand somme
Depuis le soir jusqu'au matin.

Or that of the English schoolboy, who took a kodak picture of some German soldiers near the station at Brussels. The gentleman, in whose charge he was, was summoned from inside the station, and the boy shot dead in his presence.

"A traitor has just been shot, a little French lad (*ein Französling*) belonging to one of those gymnastic societies which wear tricolour ribbons (*i.e.* the *Eclaireurs*, or Boy Scouts), a poor young fellow who in his infatuation wanted to be a hero. The German column was passing along a wooded defile, and he was caught and asked whether the French were about. He refused to give information.

"Des amusements neufs, on n'en invente guère!
 Etant petit garçon il s'amuse à la guerre
 Comme tous les petits garçons!
 Il s'amuse d'instinct à défendre sa terre,
 Et partage déjà la haine héréditaire
 Pour ceux-là que nous maudissons.

"Or voici qu'un matin, à travers le village,
 Passent les ennemis, avec tout l'étalage
 De leurs procédés révoltants.
 On se bat? C'est l'assaut du droit contre la ruse?
 Bah! Est-ce une raison pour ne plus que s'amuse
 Un petit garçon de sept ans?

"Et parce qu'il faut bien à sept ans que l'on joue,
 Du côté des soldats le petit met en joue
 Son fusil de bois menaçant. . . .
 Un Français eût souri du geste minuscule
 Et peut-être singé l'ennemi qui recule
 Pour amuser cet innocent.

"Pour montrer que vous étiez forts
 Vous avez dirigé contre l'arme enfantine,
 Qu'il allait déposer pour prendre sa tartine,
 Les vrais fusils qui font des morts!

* * *

"S'il est vrai, Majesté, ce crime qu'on raconte,
 Comme il pèsera lourd le matin du grand compte,
 Pour le débiteur aux abois!
 Comme il pèsera lourd lorsque dans le silence
 Une main posera l'enfant sur la balance
 Et son petit fusil de bois."

Fifty yards further on there was fire from the cover of a wood. The prisoner was asked in French if he had known that the enemy was in the forest and did not deny it. He went with firm step to a telegraph post and stood up against it, with the green vineyard at his back, and received the volley of the firing party with a proud smile on his face. Infatuated wretch! It was a pity to see such wasted courage.”¹

“*Bold Exploit of Two Dragoons from Duisberg.*—‘A patrol of German dragoons, entering a village incautiously, were surprised to find it occupied by the French. The majority escaped, but the two leading men were surrounded by eight French infantry soldiers. They pretended to surrender (*sie ergaben sich anscheinend*), but when a French sergeant came forward to receive their carbines, one of the dragoons, purporting to hand over his weapon, shot the man through the head and then galloped off with his comrade. The other seven Frenchmen, who had grounded their rifles and were quite off their guard, failed to hit them as they rode off.’ This is called *ein kühnes Reiterstückchen*, and spoken of as a gallant stratagem.”¹

This is what Mr. Powell, a well-known American author and journalist, saw:—

“In many parts of the world I have seen many terrible and revolting things, but nothing so ghastly, so horrifying as Aerschot. Quite two-thirds of the houses had been burned, and showed unmistakable signs of having been sacked by a brutal soldiery before they were burned.

“Everywhere were the ghastly evidences. Doors had been smashed in with rifle-butts and boot-heels; windows had been broken; pictures had been torn from the walls; mattresses had been ripped open with bayonets in search of valuables; drawers had been emptied upon the floors; the outer walls of the houses were spattered with blood and pock-marked with bullets; the side-walks were slippery

¹Quoted by Sir Theodore Andrea Cook in *Kaiser, Krupp and Kultur*, from *Kriegs-Chronik*, a German publication consisting partly of soldiers’ letters from the Front.

with broken bottles; the streets were strewn with women's clothing.

"It needed no one to tell us of that orgy of blood and lust. The story was so plainly written that any one could read it. . . .

"Piecing together the stories told us by those who did survive that night of horror, we know that scores of townspeople were shot down in cold blood; and that, when the firing squads could not do the slaughter fast enough, the victims were lined up and a machine-gun was turned upon them.

"We know that young girls were dragged from their homes and stripped naked and violated by the soldiers—many soldiers—in the public square in the presence of officers.

"We know that both men and women were unspeakably mutilated, that children were bayoneted, that dwellings were ransacked and looted, and that finally, as though to destroy the evidence of their horrid work, soldiers went from house to house with torches, methodically setting fire to them. . . .

"In comparison to its size, the Germans had wrought more widespread destruction in Louvain than did the earthquake and fire combined in San Francisco.

"The looting had evidently been unrestrained. The roads for miles in either direction were littered with furniture and bedding and clothing. Such articles as the soldiers could not carry away they wantonly destroyed. Hangings had been torn down, pictures on the walls had been smashed, the contents of drawers and trunks had been emptied into the streets, literally everything breakable had been broken. This is not from hearsay, remember; *I saw it with my own eyes*. And the amazing feature of it all was, that among the Germans there seemed to be no feeling of regret, no sense of shame. Officers in immaculate uniforms strolled about among the ruins, chatting and laughing and smoking. . . .

"Several American correspondents, among them Mr. Richard Harding Davis, who were being taken by train from Brussels to Germany, and who were held for some

hours in the station at Louvain during the first night's massacre, have vividly described the horrors which they witnessed from their car window. On the second day Mr. Hugh S. Gibson, Secretary of the American Legation in Brussels, accompanied by the Swedish and Mexican *chargés*, drove over to Louvain in a taxicab. Mr. Gibson told me that the Germans had dragged chairs and a dining-table from a near-by house into the middle of the square in front of the station and that some officers, already considerably the worse for drink, insisted that the three diplomats join them in a bottle of wine. And this while the city was burning and rifles were cracking, and the dead bodies of men and women lay sprawled in the streets!"¹

"Mr. Powell had an interview with the commanding General, von Boehn, which, as Dr. Prince says, is destined to become classic.

"It had been sought by the General, who had expressed a wish to have an opportunity to talk with Mr. Powell, to give him the German version of the treatment of the Belgian civil population for the enlightenment of the American public. Mr. Powell was accordingly invited to dine with the General. Here is more of the conversation as given by the former as 'nearly verbatim' as he could remember it.

"'But why wreak your vengeance on women and children?' I asked.

"'None have been killed,' the General asserted positively.

"'I am sorry to contradict you, General,' I asserted, with equal positiveness, 'but I have myself seen their bodies. So has Mr. Gibson, the Secretary of the American

¹"Whatever explanation may be put forward in the future concerning Aerschot or Visé or Louvain or Termonde, it will not be possible to deny the brutal fact that to avenge the murder real or pretended, of a single officer or of a small group of men, German generals, of the twentieth century, did not hesitate to order systematic massacres and devastations such as one thought had been abolished for ever from the range of human possibility."—*L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, p. 222.

Legation in Brussels, who was present during the destruction of Louvain.'

" 'Of course,' replied General von Boehn, 'there is always danger of women and children being killed during street fighting if they insist on coming into the streets. It is unfortunate, but it is war!'

" 'But how about a woman's body I saw with the hands and feet cut off? How about the white-haired man and his son whom I helped to bury outside of Sempst, who had been killed merely because a retreating Belgian soldier had shot a German soldier outside their house?

" 'There were twenty-two bayonet wounds in the old man's face. I counted them. How about the little girl, two years old, who was shot while in her mother's arms by an Uhlan, and whose funeral I attended at Heyst-op-den-Berg? How about the old man near Vilvorde, who was hung by his hands from the rafters of his house and roasted to death by a bonfire being built under him?

" 'The General seemed taken aback by the exactness of my information.'

"I have not space to quote further . . . but I hope all Americans who may read this will remember that the evidence given above is that of Americans, of 'neutrals,' not of French, or Belgians, or British, or Russians. I would ask them to read also the description of his own mental attitude given by Mr. Powell.

" 'An American, I went to Belgium at the beginning of the war with an open mind. I had few, if any, prejudices. I knew the English, the French, the Belgians, the Germans equally well. I had friends in all four countries and many happy recollections of days I had spent in each. When I left Antwerp, after the German occupation, I was as pro-Belgian as though I had been born under the red-black-and-yellow banner. I had seen a country, one of the loveliest and most peaceable in Europe, invaded by a ruthless and brutal soldiery; I had seen its towns and cities blackened by fire and broken by shell; I had seen its churches and its historic monuments destroyed; I had seen its highways crowded with hunted, homeless fugitives;

I had seen its fertile fields strewn with the corpses of what had once been the manhood of the nation; I had seen its women left husbandless and its children fatherless; I had seen what was once a garden of the Lord turned into a land of desolation; and I had seen its people—a people whom I, like the rest of the world, had always thought of as pleasure-loving, inefficient, easy-going—I had seen this people, I say, aroused, resourceful, unafraid, and fighting, fighting, fighting. Do you wonder that they captured my imagination, that they won my admiration? I *am* pro-Belgian; I admit it frankly. I should be ashamed to be anything else.”¹

The French newspapers of July 8, 1915, gave the following account of a barbarous act alleged to have been committed by the Germans at Péronne. A few days ago some shots were fired at the German patrol. The military authorities were convinced that these shots were fired from a house occupied by a M. Dubecq, a *huissier* of the courts, in the St. Fursy Street. In vain M. Dubecq pointed out that the direction of the bullets fired alone showed that this was impossible. The German soldiers locked him and his daughter inside the house, which they drenched with petroleum and burnt to the ground.

“Then it was,” says Major Corbett-Smith, “that our men first saw a little of the hideous work of the invaders upon the civilian population, and if anything more were needed to brace them up to fight to the last man, they had it in that brief hour in the recaptured town. . . . Up the main street everywhere was horrible evidence that *they* had been at work. Mingled with dead or wounded combatants were bodies of women and children, many terribly mutilated, while other women knelt beside them with stone-set faces or gasping through hysterical weeping. From behind shutters or half-closed doors others looked out, blinded with terror. But there was one thing which, for the men who saw it, dwarfed all else. Hanging up in

¹ *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, pp. 110-15.

the open window of a shop, strung from a hook on the cross-beam like a joint in a butcher's shop, was the body of a little girl, five years old, perhaps. Its poor little hands had been hacked off, and through the slender body were vicious bayonet stabs." ¹

"One of our officers, a subaltern in the Sappers, heard a woman's shrieks in the night coming from behind the German trenches near Richebourg l'Avoué; when we advanced in the morning, and drove the Germans out, a girl was found lying naked on the ground, 'pegged out' in the form of a crucifix." ²

"On the 24th August, 1914, the Germans shot fifteen civilians of Gerbeviller, by groups of five, at a place called 'la Presle,' about a kilometre from Gerbeviller, on the Luneville road.

"Whilst the preparations for the execution were taking place, General Clauss, commanding the 6th Regiment of Bavarian infantry, remained seated under a large ash-tree, near a table on which stood some champagne, about thirty metres away from the place of execution: he had given orders to fire at the moment when he raised his glass.

"The order was executed." ³

¹ *The Retreat from Mons*, p. 170.

² Morgan, *German Atrocities*, p. 63.

³ Testimony of Sister Julie, published in *Le Vieux Dieu Allemand* (by Flavien Brenier, Paris, 1916), p. 73.

Compare the above with the account of the tortures inflicted on Melchior Nonnenmacher, chief of the insurgent peasants in 1525, given by Alexander Weill (*The Revolt of the Peasants*, p. 216)—

"The unfortunate man was chained to an apple-tree, round which . . . the Duke ordered bundles of wood to be placed in such a way that his friend, the musician, should be nicely and slowly roasted. He himself and his generals piled on the first logs. . . . On all sides were dying, dead and wounded. . . . At each groan which escaped the wretched man, the nobles burst into a roar of laughter and took a sip of wine. . . . The agony of the unhappy Nonnenmacher lasted for a whole hour. When he finally fell backwards, motionless, his fellow-prisoners murmured a prayer in a low voice whilst the conquerors broke into a coarse song."

A writer in the *Petit Parisien*, M. de Smit, guarantees the truth of the following story, which was told him by a near relation of the person whom it concerns. The scene was apparently a farm in a Belgian village. One day, four German officers entered the courtyard and asked for something to eat and drink. The farmer's wife did her best to please them, and after supplying their wants walked into the garden, leaving her husband with them. Shortly afterwards, they followed her there, and one of them asked her in French what they owed her. "Nothing," she said. "Thank-you," said another officer, with a chuckle, "but we wanted to leave a little souvenir at the house." "Yes," remarked the others, and they left the garden together. The woman then returned to the house, where she found her husband decapitated and his head lying on a plate.

In the "Journal d'un Grand Blessé," published in the *Correspondant*, by M. Ch. Hennevois, the writer states that he lay half hidden on the ground and saw German patrols go up to men, wounded like himself, who were crying for water, and kill them with their bayonets and with the butt-end of their rifles, and then strip and plunder the bodies.

The following incident is quoted by the *Gaulois*, in its issue of September 30, from the *Russkoye Slovo*—

"During an engagement at the hamlet Esserlicheck, N.-E. of Vilkomir, half a Russian company with their officers, Lieuts. Baljen, Moits and Kister, were taken prisoners by the Germans. All the men were put to death by the enemy after they had been subjected to horrible torture. The tongues of some of them were torn out and their bodies pierced again and again with bayonets; two were thrown into a pond. Lieut. Kister, already wounded in the neck, received a number of bayonet thrusts, the last of which tore out his eyes and penetrated his skull. Lieut. Baljen was buried alive."

The *Novoye Vremja* describes the horrible torture inflicted on a Cossack who was taken prisoner by the Germans

and afterwards escaped. He stated that his ears were cut off, and strips of skin peeled off his thighs so as to correspond to the stripes worn by the Cossacks on their trousers.

His evidence was taken before several superior Russian officers and an American colonel.

According to the *Echo de Paris*, evidence was given before the Commission at Petrograd appointed to report on atrocities committed in Russia by Germans, to the effect that 800 Russian prisoners were buried alive in Galicia.

Eight English prisoners were condemned to twelve months' hard labour for refusing to work on the construction of a Zeppelin: that is, for refusing to assist in the murder of their wives and children.

"At Douai," states Major Vandaleur, who was made prisoner October 13, 1914, "I was subjected to continual abuse and revilement. . . . No food was given, no straw. . . . On October 17 . . . we were all marched off to the railway station, being reviled at and cursed all the way by German officers as well as German soldiers. One of our officers was spat on by a German officer. . . . We were driven into closed-in wagons from which horses had just been removed, fifty-two men being crowded into the one in which the other four officers and myself were. So tight were we packed that there was only room for some of us to sit down on the floor. This floor was covered fully three inches deep in fresh manure. . . . At Mons I was pulled out in front of the wagon by the order of the officer in charge of the station, and after cursing me in filthy language . . . he ordered one of his soldiers to kick me back into the wagon, which he did" [Major Vandaleur was wounded]. . . . "One of these wagons is considered to be able to accommodate six horses or forty men, and this only with the doors open to admit of ventilation." In this wagon they were seventy-two hours.¹

¹ Report of Major Vandaleur, quoted by H. W. Wilson in the *National Review*, January, 1917.

Still more loathsome things of a similar nature—too loathsome, indeed, to be repeated here—are recorded in the Belgian Official Reports.

In an article of twenty-four pages in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, a résumé is given of a volume published by M. Rezanof, describing the abominable ill-treatment to which Russian residents and tourists in Germany were exposed, when the war broke out. The accounts are, in all cases, based on evidence collected by the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs. Many persons are stated to have lost their reason in consequence of the brutalities to which they were exposed. Of some it has been impossible to obtain any trace. Others were shot as spies at the frontier stations; women and girl fugitives were stripped absolutely naked in public, and kept standing for an hour in that condition, on the pretence that it was necessary to examine their clothes. In one instance, the father of two girls, who, beside himself at the indignity offered to his daughters, struck one of the officials, was immediately shot by order of a colonel.

"While a number of wounded were being attended to in a hospital at Goméry, a patrol of the 47th German Infantry appeared, and began a general massacre of the wounded and medical staff. Assistant-Surgeon Vaissière was mortally wounded; the hospital full of wounded was deliberately set on fire; Stretcher-bearer Gresse was shot; and in all about 400 wounded Belgian soldiers were killed or burnt to death. Statements regarding this affair have been made by the Chief Surgeon Simonin and six stretcher-bearers."¹

The Petrograd Red Cross Society publishes a list of forty-six Sisters of Charity killed by Austro-German guns which directed their fire upon Russian ambulances and hospitals.

The Russian Red Cross Hospital Ship, *Portugal*, was deliberately sunk in the Black Sea by the enemy on March 30, with 115 persons attached to the Red Cross. The enemy had been officially informed of its name, and the ship bore all the signs required by Article V of the Hague Convention of 1907.

¹ *The National Review*, January, 1917.

Several of the statements alluded to are printed in Bland, *Germany's Violations of the Laws of War*, p. 53.

On the 1st of February, 1915, the English Hospital Ship *Asturias*, was attacked by a German warship. In November, 1916, the *Britannic* and the *Braemar Castle*, both hospital ships, were torpedoed, the former in the Mediterranean, and the latter in the Ægean Sea.

Towards the end of March 1917, a second attempt on the *Asturias* succeeded. She was sunk without warning, "while steaming with all navigating lights and with all the proper Red Cross signs brilliantly illuminated." Shortly after, the hospital ship *Gloucester Castle* was sunk.

On April 17 two others, the *Donegal* and the *Lanfranc*, were torpedoed. The latter carried 234 British wounded, 167 German wounded and a medical *personnel* of 52. British patrol vessels, at the risk of being torpedoed, rescued 152 German wounded. One of these ships was not distinguished as a hospital ship, and for a significant reason:—"Owing to the German practice of sinking hospital ships at sight, and to the fact that distinctive marking and lighting of such vessels render them more conspicuous targets for German submarines, it has become no longer possible to distinguish our hospital ships in the customary manner."¹

It has been alleged, in palliation of some of these atrocities, that the soldiers were drunk when they committed them or that there was provocation. Here are instances of "provocation":—

"Just before we got to Malines," says a witness, who had fallen temporarily into the hands of the Germans, "on August 5, I saw a woman with a child in her arms standing on the side of the road, on my left hand, watching the soldiers go by. Her name was G——, aged about sixty-three and a neighbour of mine. The officer asked the woman for some water in good French. She went inside her son's cottage to get some and brought it immediately. The officer went into the cottage garden and drank the water. The woman then remarked to the prisoners, 'Instead of being given water they deserve to be shot.'

¹ Announcement of the Secretary of the Admiralty, *The Times*, April 23, 1917.

The officer shouted to us to march on. We went on, and immediately I saw the officer draw his revolver and shoot the woman and child. One shot killed both.”¹

“About three hours out of Malines we were taken prisoners by a German patrol and marched into a little wood, where there was a house. . . . The officer knocked at the door, but the peasant did not come. He then ordered the soldiers to break down the door, which two of them did. The officer said he [the peasant] did not come quickly enough. . . . His hands were tied behind his back, and he was shot at once without a moment’s delay. The wife came out with a little sucking child. She put the child down and sprang at the Germans; like a lioness she clawed their faces. One of the Germans took a revolver and struck her a tremendous blow with the butt-end on her head. Another took his bayonet, fixed it, and thrust it through the child; he then put his rifle on his shoulder with the child upon it; its little arms stretched out once or twice. The officer ordered the house to be set on fire, and straw was obtained and it was done. The man and his wife and child were thrown on to the top of the straw. There were about forty other peasant prisoners there, and the officer said, ‘I am doing this as a lesson and example to you; when a German tells you to do something next time you must move more quickly.’ The regiment of Germans was a regiment of Cuirassiers, with cross-bones and the death’s head on the cap.”¹

¹ Report of Lord Bryce’s Committee, pp. 50-1.

VIII

A GERMAN DEFENCE

THE German Government has published a White Book of many pages in reply to the atrocities which have been laid to their charge in Belgium and, in the words of Professor Morgan, "no more damning and incriminating evidence has ever been put forth by a nation arraigned at the bar of public opinion." ¹

An attempt is made in it to justify rather than to deny the horrors perpetrated by the German army in Belgium, and to this end the Belgian civilians are themselves accused of having committed atrocities on the troops in occupation of the country. With a view to discover evidence confirming these charges, an inquiry was held by certain officers of the German army, the witnesses consisting of persons under their authority. That is to say, the inquiry was conducted by those who had to justify the orders which they gave to these witnesses, who were bound by military discipline to carry them out. The evidence in most cases is based on hearsay, and this even where the pretended eye-witnesses themselves could have been called upon to make direct statements; moreover the statements would not bear any sort of cross-examination in a court of justice.

The German Defence has been commented upon by a neutral, Professor Struycken of the Faculty of Law at the University of Amsterdam, who describes it as a "collection of evidence, mostly on oath, which is intended to prove that the numerous executions, burnings and acts of devas-

¹ *German Atrocities*, p. 5.

tation carried out by the German troops in Belgium were a *Kriegsnotwendigkeit* ('necessity of war') in view of the treacherous and criminal behaviour of the civil population." "One would gladly," he adds, "have had the direct evidence of many of the soldiers concerned, which, being that of eye-witnesses, would have had the greatest importance—but their evidence is not found in the White Book. The possibility of guilt on the part of the civilian population is certainly not excluded, but the fact that the military authorities in Berlin are satisfied with this method of investigation, and apparently regard the evidence now published as satisfactory, makes us shudder at the thought of the evidence on which, in the confusion of the fighting, in the witches' cauldron of Dinant, in burning Aerschot, and in so many other places in unhappy Belgium, sentence of death was carried out on thousands of citizens by officers and by soldiers of lower rank.

"*Man hat geschossen* ('There has been firing') was the ordinary signal for death and destruction. . . .

"It has, on many previous occasions in the course of the war, been noticeable that the Germans have apparently formed a low estimate of the insight and critical judgment of the neutrals whom they seek to convince of the justice of their cause. The German White Book furnishes a fresh instance of this. If neutrals are to be convinced that the extreme severities carried out against the population in Belgium were justified, it will be necessary for much clearer evidence to be brought forward than that contained in this book. We are anxious to receive enlightenment as to the events which have occurred, and do not wish to found our judgment solely on Belgian, French and English reports, into which exaggerations may easily have found their way; but desire that the Germans, too, may bring forward evidence which will stand the test of criticism, and will in fact prove that which it is desired to prove, instead of proving the exact opposite."

The accusations are, as a rule, made in general terms, and atrocities committed by the Germans themselves are described as necessary reprisals. It is admitted "that

hostages were shot at various places," and this procedure is said to have been "amply justified!"¹

The indiscriminate shooting of civilians, including priests, is also admitted. One instance of the style of evidence contained in this Defence is sufficient. A German staff-surgeon says: "On the bank of the Meuse, between the river and the garden wall . . . lay a heap of civilians who had been shot. . . . I estimate about thirty or forty. . . . I have heard that the Grenadier Regiment No. 101 carried out the execution. Among the people who were shot were some women, but by far the greater number were young lads. Under the heap I discovered a girl of about five years of age, alive and without any injuries. I took her out and brought her down to the house where the women were. She took chocolate, was quite happy, and was clearly unaware of the seriousness of the situation. I then searched the heap of bodies to see whether any other child were underneath, but we only found one girl of about ten years of age, who had a wound in the lower part of the thigh. I had the wound dressed, and brought her at once to the women. . . . Mother and daughter were very thankful to me."²

The Belgian Government has itself published a lengthy reply to the German Defence, from a *résumé* of which, published in English under the title of *Truth and Travesty*, we append the following extracts:—

"As to looting, it is sufficient that there was a leader present, officer or non-commissioned officer, for it to be lawful. Looting is then called 'requisition.' Looting by single individuals is alone considered blameworthy. Moreover, it was with a total absence of shame that most of those who made this confession acknowledged the great number of occasions of organised looting. A typical reply was given by the men of the reserve corps.

"Questioned as to whether they had witnessed or taken part in looting, a number of them replied with a candour

¹ Appendix C, German White Book.

² The incident is apparently recounted by way of illustrating the tender solicitude of the German officer.

that disarmed criticism: 'There was no chance; the first line troops had been there'; or, 'Everything had been cleared, and we had searched in vain through the houses, the doors of which had been forced open; there was nothing left to take.'

"The conclusions of Lieutenant Loustalot, as to the responsibility of the German command for the sack and massacre of Dinant, are confirmed up to the hilt by the depositions taken. '*We went there as if going to drill, commanded and led by our officers and non-commissioned officers,*' said a witness from the 108th Foot. This statement, which is not the only one of its kind, accurately sums up the whole story." ¹

"Such is the German White Book," writes Professor Morgan. "I think it is not too much to say that it bears the stamp of the forger's hand upon it, the same hand that forged the Ems telegram and garbled the Belgian documents captured in Brussels. It was conceived in iniquity and brought forth in falsehood. It confesses but does not avoid." Let the reader study it. He will come to no other conclusion. He will see that it is nothing but an attempt to prove that black is white and white is black, and that the crime is only aggravated by the vain effort to justify it. "The huge fact of the crushing of Belgium submerges all details. Our thought is expressed in these words of Emerson: 'What you are speaks so loudly we cannot hear what you say.'" ²

Times without number proposals have been made to the German commanders in Belgium by eminent persons, including Cardinal Mercier and the Belgian Bishops, that a neutral commission should be appointed to inquire into the atrocities committed by the German troops and the truth of their defence, but no reply even has ever been vouchsafed to these proposals.

¹*Truth and Travesty: an Analytical Study of the Reply of the Belgian Government to the German White Book*, by Fernand Passelecq, Director of the Belgian Documentary Bureau, pp. 53-5.

²David Starr Jordan, quoted in *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, p. 121.

IX

MURDER BY LAND AND SEA

OF all the crimes which Germany has committed since the war began none have horrified the world to the same degree as the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the judicial murders of Miss Cavell and of Captain Fryatt. The *Lusitania*, an unarmed¹ passenger ship, was torpedoed without warning by German submarines. The ship sank in twenty minutes, and with it 1198 of the passengers and crew, many of them women and hapless little children. This cruel, cowardly act was extolled in the German Press: "The sinking of the *Lusitania* is a success for our submarines which must be placed beside the greatest achievement in this naval war. . . . The sinking of the great British steamer is a success, the moral significance of which is still greater than the material success. With joyful pride we contemplate the latest deed of our navy, and it will not be the last."²

"Whoever cannot prevail upon himself," said Pastor D. Baumgarten, in the course of an address on the Sermon on the Mount, "to approve from the bottom of his heart the sinking of the *Lusitania*—whoever cannot conquer the sense of the gigantic cruelty (*ungeheure Grausamkeit*) to unnumbered perfectly innocent victims . . . and give himself up to honest delight at the victorious exploit of German defensive power—him we judge to be no German."³

¹ A German—or pro-German—who swore at an inquiry held at New York that the *Lusitania* was armed, was convicted of perjury.

² *Kölnische Zeitung*, May 10, 1915; quoted by A. Hurd in *Murder at Sea*, in which the story is eloquently told.

³ *Deutsche Reden in schwerer Zeit*, No. 24, p. 7.

Hundreds of congratulatory telegrams were sent to Admiral von Tirpitz, while in New York, "where riotous scenes of jubilation took place among the Germans in German clubs and restaurants . . . many Germans got drunk in toasting 'Der Tag.' " ¹

A medal was struck in Germany to commemorate the exploit, and it is stated that the Order of Merit of the First Class was bestowed by the Emperor on the Commander of the submarine which did the ghastly work.

The main facts of the murder of Miss Cavell are known in most English homes, and abroad, in the friendly countries, there can hardly exist a newspaper which has not expressed its horror at the crime.

"The summary execution by a belligerent of an inoffensive inhabitant affects us more than the death of hundreds of soldiers in a regular engagement. The reason of this is, that the general principles of humanity, which are the very essence of Christianity, have found their most noble expression in the laws of chivalry, which is the true moral basis of the military traditions of modern Europe. The English, French and Spanish—to cite only the three principal military Powers of the Middle Age—have passed down from generation to generation this common ideal, which already contained in germ the fundamental principles of the international law of our days—fidelity to a word once given, loyalty in the means of inflicting damage on the enemy, respect and protection of the weak." ²

"Why has this crime caused such widespread indignation?" said M. Painlevé, the French Minister for Public Instruction, at a mass meeting organised by the Ligue de Droits de Londres, on the 28th of November, in honour of the memory of Miss Cavell, and in aid of the French Red Cross Society. "By what extraordinary circumstance has it come about that in the midst of scenes of death and desolation, almost too tragic for the imagination to

¹ *Murder at Sea*, p. 14.

² *L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, p. 11.

conceive, the love and compassion of all nations have been so centred in one individual sufferer.

"Germany has spread death over the world. She has carried her hideous engines of destruction, her scientific methods of massacre, from the North Sea to the Vosges, and from the Baltic to the Balkans. . . . By her deed millions of soldiers lie dead, mown down in the flower of their youth, and the streets of every large town are full of mutilated men. It would seem impossible to single out any one in particular for compassion. What, indeed, does one murder signify, when murders are committed without number; when whole nations, men, women and children, are trodden underfoot, torn to pieces, and doomed to extermination? And yet with the simple story of the putting to death of Miss Cavell the whole civilised world has trembled with indignation and horror. . . .

"Not until the day when Germany feels within herself some shame and remorse for this crime can there possibly be peace between her and humanity. Even if violence and iniquity should win the victory over justice and right (an absurd and inconceivable hypothesis) there is not a man, worthy of the name of man, who would not rather perish with Miss Cavell than triumph with her assassins!"

It is just this absence of human qualities, chivalry, gratitude, pity, remorse and shame in the commission of some of their crimes that has amazed the civilised world. Consider the circumstances of Miss Cavell's murder. "Miss Cavell," wrote the American Minister to Belgium, in his appeal on her behalf to Baron von Bissing, the German Governor of Brussels, "is the head of the Brussels Surgical Institute. She has spent her life in alleviating the sufferings of others, and her school has turned out many nurses who have watched by the bedside of the sick all the world over, in Germany as in Belgium. At the beginning of the war Miss Cavell bestowed her care as freely on the German soldiers as on others. Even in default of all other reasons her career as a servant to humanity is such as to inspire the greatest sympathy and to call for

pardon. . . ." He appealed in vain to the "feelings of humanity and generosity" of this brute in human shape; they existed no more in him than in his associate, Baron von der Lacken, to whom the Minister wrote: "Stand by and save from death this unfortunate woman. Have pity on her." She was condemned to death at five o'clock in the afternoon of October 11 on the charge of assisting English and French soldiers to cross the frontier, whereby she hoped to save their lives, and shot at two o'clock in the night. We need not go into the circumstances of her trial; they have been very carefully set forth by Mr. James Beck,¹ and the illegality as well as the barbarity of the sentence clearly demonstrated. After quoting the law which she was alleged to have transgressed, "I affirm," he writes, "with confidence, that under this law Miss Cavell was innocent, and that the true meaning of the law was perverted in order to inflict the death sentence upon her. . . . No one suggests that Baron von Bissing had any personal feeling against Miss Cavell; indeed, his conduct would have been the more tolerable if it had been actuated by anger. He killed her in cold blood and to strengthen the German occupation in Belgium. To the Prussian idea, as already illustrated by official proclamation, it was a matter of no consequence whose life was taken or whose right was invaded; it served to terrorise the Belgian people." Even the final appeal of our Minister for the surrender of her mutilated body was denied. For her part she forgave her butchers: "I must have no bitterness towards any one," were among her last words.

In discussing the illegal as well as the inhuman character of the sentence, we are admitting for a moment that the Germans had a right to exercise in Belgium the privileges of belligerents in a hostile country. In reality, their position in Belgium is nothing better than that of a band of brigands who, in order to avoid the resistance which they expect to meet if they attempt to enter a house

¹ *Edith Cavell*, by James Beck, late Assistant Attorney General, United States.

they intend to plunder by the front door, break their way through an adjoining property—which they have previously sworn to respect—murdering and robbing the owners of that property on their way, because they ventured to oppose their intrusion.

Captain Fryatt was the master of the Great Eastern Railway Company's steamship *Brussels*, running between Harwich and Rotterdam. He has been described by one who knew him intimately as "a perfect type of the British sailor, a master of his craft, a devoted husband and father, and a man of blameless life."

In February, 1915, the German Government published their nefarious intention of destroying, on and after the 18th of that month, every enemy merchant vessel found in the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the English Channel, "without it being always possible to warn the crew or passengers." Captain Fryatt was aware of this. He was also, no doubt, aware of the fact that twenty-two merchant ships had already been sunk without warning by German submarines since the above-mentioned announcement had been made. When therefore on the 28th March his vessel was pursued by one of these submarines which, according to one account, signalled to him to stop, he ordered the engines to be put at full speed, hoping by this means to ensure the safety of his crew and passengers. A few minutes later the submarine dived with the intention, no doubt, of torpedoing the *Brussels*, but it is believed that at that moment she was herself rammed by that vessel.

In recognition of his skill and bravery on this occasion Captain Fryatt was presented with a gold watch by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty and another by the Great Eastern Railway Company.

On the 23rd June, 1916, more than a year after the incident recorded above, the *Brussels* was captured, while on a voyage to Tilbury from the Hook of Holland, by a flotilla of German torpedo boats and taken with all on board to Zeebrugge; and it was there that the murder took place.

Captain Fryatt was shot, after some sort of mock trial, for having dared to defend his ship and those on board against the attack of the submarine. He had at least the comforting thought on the day of his martyrdom that, but for his action, those who sailed with him on the 18th March might have perished like the victims of the *Falaba* which was sunk on the same date.

This crime has been spoken of in neutral countries in scathing terms, as was foreseen by the German Press itself. "It will probably arouse the same storm of indignation against German barbarism as was evoked by the Cavell case, but that must not disturb us," wrote the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* (29th July, 1916). The *New York Herald* described it as the "crowning German atrocity" and the *New York Times* as "a deliberate murder—a trifle to the Government that has so many thousands to answer for." A Dutch paper wrote: "In the year in which Captain Fryatt made the fatal mistake of attempting to save his ship from destruction, Germany's licensed submarine assassins torpedoed and sank forty unarmed British vessels without the slightest warning. These adored heroes of the Fatherland succeeded in a single year in slaughtering more than 2000 men, women and children. . . . The cowardly method of warfare that has made the German navy distinct from all others has been worthily upheld. . . ." It is announced that in Holland a subscription has been set on foot for the purpose of raising a memorial in honour of the murdered man. In our own country a mass meeting, organised by the British Workers' National League, protested in the name of the people of England against this new crime and expressed sympathy with the widow, to whom the following letter was written at the King's command—

"In the sorrow which has so cruelly stricken you the King joins with his people in offering you his heartfelt sympathy.

"Since the outbreak of the War, His Majesty has followed with admiration the splendid services of the Mercantile Marine.

"The action of Captain Fryatt in defending his ship against the attack of an enemy submarine was a noble instance of the resource and self-reliance so characteristic of that profession.

"It is therefore with the feelings of the deepest indignation that the King learnt of your husband's fate, and in conveying to you the expression of his condolence I am commanded to assure you of the abhorrence with which His Majesty regards this outrage."

"The Government are of opinion," said Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons, "that this country will not tolerate the resumption of diplomatic intercourse with Germany after the War until reparation has been made for the murder of Captain Fryatt and similar outrages. Some of our Allies have suffered from brutalities even more gross and on a more extended scale."

X

ATROCITIES IN AFRICA

THE Blue Book relating to "German Atrocities and Breaches of the Rules of War in Africa" (June, 1916), admits us to another Chamber of Horrors. In this volume of eighty-six pages we read of the murder and mutilation of the natives—men, women and children—and the destruction of their villages; of the firing on medical officers and stretcher-bearers, although wearing brassards and waving Red Cross flags; of the poisoning of the wells and the use of expanding bullets. "On some occasions," wrote Major-General Dobell¹ in a despatch to the War Office, "it is said that no Europeans were present during the enactment of the brutalities described, but sufficient evidence is here available to show that German Europeans encouraged such acts by personally cutting the throats of wounded British soldiers with knives, firing on peaceful inhabitants to terrorise them, and shooting natives without trial." Major-General Dobell enclosed a memorandum by Mr. Elphinstone² in which he says that: "It should be borne in mind that the civilians killed by the Germans are the natives of a country under their protection, whom they had ruled for many years; the murders were not committed by an invading army. In fact, owing to the treatment meted out, it was to the invading army to whom the wretched natives fled for protection; they very soon summed up the difference of treatment by the German and the Allied Forces."

¹ Commanding the Allied Forces in the Cameroons.

² Chief Political Officer with the British Forces in the Cameroons.

To the German Governor at Jaunde, Major-General Dobell wrote as follows: "I take this opportunity to bring to your Excellency's attention the barbarous manner in which German troops are carrying on warfare, especially in the Edea districts. With regard to this, I enclose a report of the cases treated by the French medical authorities, which removes any doubt as to the facts of the case. This report can only contain a small proportion of the unspeakable atrocities actually committed by your troops.

"It requires no reference to the Hague Convention to point out that the brutalities, which have been committed against unarmed non-combatants and innocent women and children, are contrary to every principle of civilised warfare and against every dictate of humanity.

"I am unable to believe that such acts could be perpetrated without the sanction of your military authorities, and in some cases I have reason to think that Europeans were actually present directing operations.

"In the name of humanity I request your Excellency to put an instant stop to such proceedings. Should they continue, I shall be obliged to give directions that any German soldier captured and found guilty of taking part in these atrocities shall be deemed to have forfeited his right to be regarded as a prisoner of war and will be dealt with accordingly.

"I would also draw your Excellency's attention to the fact that my subordinate commanders have reported cases of natives armed with poisoned arrows fighting in your ranks. This is contrary to Article 23 of the Hague Convention concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land.

"I need not point out to your Excellency that, for my part, I use the utmost endeavour that the laws and customs of war are respected by the troops fighting under my command and expect your Excellency to take similar measures."

XI

THE MURDER OF A NATION : THE EXPLOITS OF GERMANY'S ALLIES

THE story of murder and plunder is not complete without some account of the atrocities committed by the nations with whom the Central Powers have allied themselves. With their approval nearly the whole of the Armenian inhabitants of Turkey have been barbarously butchered, and those who have not been killed, or have not succeeded in escaping, have been thrown into prison or sold into slavery.

I say, "with their approval," for no one who realises how complete an ascendancy the Germans have gained over their Turkish Allies since the war began, can suppose that they could not at any moment have put an end to the massacre of this people, had they wished to do so. One word from the Kaiser would have sufficed. Massacres in Turkey are not perpetrated by uncontrollable mobs. They are organised. The butchery of the Armenians at Adana in 1909 began by order from Constantinople and was suddenly stopped by another order from Constantinople, an officer riding through the streets and calling out "Paydos!" (*Cease work!*)

Four hundred years ago, the Turkish Sultan, Selim I, was minded to massacre the whole of the Christian population of his dominions, but was dissuaded by his counsellors. As the German historian, von Hammer, writes: "Thanks to the humanity of the Grand Vizier, Piri Pasha, and the Mufti Djemali, Selim did not blacken the last days of his reign by a wholesale massacre of the 'Infidels.' " ¹ It was

¹ *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches.*

only when, in the twentieth century, a Sultan was dependent on the counsels of Christian German advisers, that it became possible to carry out Selim's designs, almost to the letter. Therefore, this crime also: "A crime," as Lord Bryce says, "more hideous than any which have been committed since the time of Tamerlane," is at their door. Three-quarters or four-fifths of this intelligent nation have perished, and the story of the tortures to which they were subjected and the manner of their death surpasses anything we read even in the accounts of the atrocities in Belgium and France and Serbia.

"The worst and most unimaginable horrors," says one of the witnesses, "were reserved for us at the banks of the Euphrates and the Erzindjan plain. The mutilated bodies of women and girls and little children made everybody shudder. . . . Their cries went up to heaven. At the Euphrates, the brigands and gendarmes threw into the river all the remaining children under fifteen years old. Those who could swim were shot down as they struggled in the water."

"In the district of Bitlis," according to information published by the Armenian newspaper *Gotchnag*, of New York, "in one village 1000 Armenian men, women and children were crowded into a wooden house and the house set on fire."

In another large village of the same district only Turkish people escaped the massacre.

In another they roped together men and women by dozens and threw them into the Lake of Van.

A young Armenian, who succeeded in escaping, relates that the Ex-Vali (Governor) of Van ordered the massacre of all the male inhabitants of Bitlis between the ages of fifteen and forty, and the order was carried out.

According to the *Messagiere* (August, 1915), the Italian Consul-General at Trebizond, M. Gorrini, stated that the orders from Constantinople were peremptory and had to be obeyed; of 14,000 Gregorians, Catholics and Protestants not more than a hundred were left at the time of his departure. Every day, hundreds of dead

bodies were to be seen in the streets. Women were outraged; children were taken from their families and thrown into the Black Sea or the rivers. "After witnessing these daily scenes for a month," said the Consul, "without being able to interfere, one is inclined to ask whether all the cannibals and wild beasts in the world have congregated in Stamboul. Such massacres cry out for the vengeance of the whole of Christianity. If all I know was known—all I have heard and seen—the Christian Powers who remain neutral would cry anathema and rise against Turkey—against this barbarian Government and the savage 'Committee of Union and Progress,' and hold responsible the Austro-Germans who tolerate or assist in the perpetration of crimes unparalleled in modern history."

"From whatever source it comes," wrote the *Gaulois* (October, 1915), "whether from Constantinople, Smyrna, Angora, Van or elsewhere, there is no variation in the description of the appalling scenes which have accompanied the slaughter of the Armenian population of the Turkish Empire since the beginning of the war. The Turks have drawn up a plan for the complete extermination of the Armenians, and they are carrying it out with a ferocity which makes the hair stand on end—with a refinement of cruelty of which there are few examples, even in the remotest periods of the history of mankind. They kill, massacre, pillage, burn and devastate under the very eyes of their German patrons who encourage them in their abominable work. The number already murdered is appalling. The report speaks of 800,000 to 1,000,000. Only those who adopt the Mohammedan religion are spared, and even they are deported to a great distance from their towns and villages, and separated from their wives and children, who are forcibly converted to Islam and distributed among the Mussulman families! Abdul Hamid was justly called 'the Red Sultan.' By what name will the young Turks and their so-called Christian Teuton friends and allies be known in history?"

The *Temps* learns that beyond Orfa and in parts of Mesopotamia there is not a single Armenian left.

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions has issued a statement as to the conditions of the deported Armenians in northern Arabia and Syria, including the following eyewitness's report from a missionary:—

“At Meskeneh I saw women and children throw themselves into trenches, and beg the grave-diggers to bury them. The Government furnishes no bread.

“In Hamar, of 7000 deportees 3000 were naked. They gathered locusts, and ate them, cooked or uncooked, according as they could get fire.

“Some even caught dogs in the street and ate them raw.

“In Rekka 15,000 deportees live in tents in a camp on both sides of the Euphrates. The people are not allowed to enter the city.

“Everywhere there are terrible pictures of nakedness, hunger and death. The authorities are doing nothing.

“Some of the people, in despair, threw themselves into the river. Everywhere we met caravans of Armenians carried from their homes.

“We often saw whole rows of ghastly forms rising suddenly out of graves and asking for bread and water. All have dug their own graves and are awaiting death. The number is not less than 30,000 as I write.

“Some who cannot beg lie in cots on the ground until death releases them. Nobody looks to them, dead or alive.

“At a Government investigation, it was shown that there had been cannibalism, and the dying had been fought over to obtain their flesh for food.

“It is to be remembered that these people have done no wrong. It was desired by the Turkish Government that they should be got rid of.”

The testimony of two Mussulmans (ex-officials), published in *The Times*,¹ confirms the stories related above.

¹ January 1, 1917.

"In August, 1915" (relates the first eyewitness), "I saw in the suburbs of Mush large numbers of dead bodies of Armenian men, women and children lying in the fields. Some had been shot, some stabbed, and nearly all horribly mutilated. . . .

"In the same month of August, at about two hours from Zaart, I saw masses of Armenian bodies piled up in two ravines. I estimate the number at about 15,000. I learned that the Armenian Bishop of Zaart had . . . been shot in a cave near by.

". . . On my way back from Zaart to Mush there were 500 Armenians herded together in a stable near Mush and locked in. Through an opening in the roof the gendarmes threw flaming torches; I saw the flames and heard the screams of the victims, all of whom were burned alive. . . .

"Besides those whom the Turks had killed and burnt alive, thousands were thrown into the Euphrates. Many drowned themselves out of fear of a worse death."

The second eyewitness stated—

"In April, 1915, an order came from Constantinople to Erzeroum, where I was quartered, that the Armenians inhabiting frontier towns and villages should be deported into the interior. . . . In May I was transferred to Trebizond. In July an order came that all the Armenians of that vilayet should also be deported to the interior. As I was a member of the court-martial I knew that deportation meant massacre. Besides the deportation order, an Imperial Iradeh commanded that all deserters, when caught, should be shot without trial. A secret order, however, said 'Armenians' instead of 'deserters.' A 'fetva' from the Sheikh-ul-Islam accompanied the Iradeh, saying that the Armenians had shed Moslem blood, and that it was lawful to kill them. I heard that all Armenian men were being massacred on their way into the interior. . . . At Trebizond the children, whom the American Consul had taken charge of, were removed, taken out to sea in boats, stabbed, put into sacks and thrown into the sea.

Some of their bodies were afterwards washed up on the shore. . . .

"At Trebizond Moslems were warned that they would be liable to the death penalty if they sheltered Armenians. The best looking women were picked out by Government officials, outraged and murdered.

"At Kamach I saw in prison the Kurdish chieftain, Murza Bey. I asked him why he was there. He said, 'I have killed 70,000 Armenians, and now they have arrested me for striking a gendarme.' "

"In Haftevan and Salmas 850 corpses were found in the wells and cisterns alone, all without their heads. The Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish troops had promised a sum of money for every Christian head. The wells are soaked with the blood of Christians. . . . The soldiers who passed through from Satchbulak carried on the point of the bayonet the head of the Russian consul; the nuns had run into the street and prayed for pity but in vain." ¹

"It was heartrending to hear the cries of the people and children who were being burnt to death in their houses. The soldiers took great delight in hearing them and when people who were out in the streets during the bombardment fell dead, the soldiers merely laughed at them.

"The survivors were sent to Urfa (there were none left but sick women and children); I went to the Mutesarraf and begged him to have mercy on the children at least, but in vain. He replied that the Armenian children must perish with their nation. All our people were taken from our hospital and orphanage; they left us three female servants. Under these atrocious circumstances, Moush was burnt to the ground. Every officer boasted of the number he had personally massacred as his share in ridding Turkey of the Armenian race.

¹ From a statement made by a German missionary in a letter quoted in *Germany, Turkey and Armenia*, being "a selection of documentary evidence relating to the Armenian atrocities from German and other sources," published by J. J. Keliher & Co., 1917, p. 19.

"We left for Harpout (Kharpout). Harpout has become the cemetery of the Armenians; from all directions they have been brought to Harpout to be buried. There they lie, and the dogs and the vultures devour their bodies. In Harpout and Mezreh the people have had to endure terrible tortures. They have had their eye-brows plucked out, their breasts cut off, their nails torn off; their torturers hew off their feet or hammer nails into them just as they do in shoeing horses. This is all done at night-time; and in order that the people may not hear their screams and know of their agony, soldiers are stationed round the prisons, beating drums and blowing whistles. It is needless to relate that many died of these tortures. When they die the soldiers cry: 'Now let your Christ help you.'

"One old priest was tortured so cruelly to extract a confession that, believing that the torture would cease and that he would be left alone if he did it, he cried out in his desperation, 'We are revolutionists.' He expected his tortures to cease, but, on the contrary, the soldiers cried: 'What further do we seek? We have it here from his own lips.' And instead of picking out their victims as they did before, the officials had all the Armenians tortured without sparing a soul."¹

"The following morning, at a very early hour, we heard the procession of exiles passing in front of our house, along the high road leading to Erzindjân. We followed them and kept up with them as far as the town, about an hour's walk. It was a very large gang—only two or three of them men, all the rest women and children. Many of the women looked demented. They cried out: 'Spare us, we will become Moslems or Germans or whatever you will; only spare us. We are being taken to Kamaklı Boghaz to have our throats cut. . . .' The crowd was being moved on continually by the mounted gendarmes, brandishing their whips. . . .

"On the road we broke our journey near a Greek

¹ From a statement by a German eyewitness of occurrences at Moush; communicated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.

village. A savage-looking man was standing by the roadside. He began to talk with us, and told us he was stationed there to kill all the Armenians that passed, that he had already killed 250. . . .

"One day we met a convoy of exiles . . . the scene will never be forgotten by either of us; a very small number of elderly men, a large number of women—vigorous figures with energetic features—a crowd of pretty children, some of them fair and blue-eyed, one little girl smiling at the strangeness of all she was seeing, but on all the other faces the solemnity of death . . . and so they passed, some of them greeting us on the way—all these poor people, who are now standing at the throne of God, and whose cry goes up before Him. . . .

"At another place, there were ten gendarmes shooting them down while Turkish workmen were finishing off the victims with knives and stones. . . .

"One night we slept in an Armenian house where the women had just heard that the men of the family had been condemned to death. It was frightful to hear their cries of anguish: 'Cannot your Emperor help us?' " ¹

"In the village of Tel-Armen and in the neighbouring villages, about 5000 people were massacred, leaving only a few women and children. The people were thrown alive down wells or into the fire." ²

"In an Armenian school at Marash, I saw over a hundred women and children with bullet-wounds in their legs and their arms and with all sorts of mutilations; among them were children of one and two years.

"On the 13th August thirty-four Armenians, including two boys of the age of twelve years, were shot at Marash. Again, on the 15th August, twenty-four were shot and fourteen were hanged. The twenty-four who were shot were tied together with a heavy chain that went round their necks and were made to stand up together in one

¹ From a statement by two Red Cross nurses of Danish nationality, formerly in the service of the German Military Mission at Erzeroum, communicated by a Swiss gentleman of Geneva.
Ibid., pp. 35-42.

² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

mass. They were shot in the presence of the Mohammedan population behind the American College. With my own eyes I saw the bodies, while still convulsed in the agonies of death, being handed over to the arbitrary disposal of the rough civilians who pulled the hands and the feet of the corpses, and during the next half-hour the policemen and gendarmes shot continuously with revolvers on these corpses, some of which were terribly disfigured, while the population looked on with amusement. Afterwards the same people marched up and down in front of the German hospital and shouted 'Yasha Almanya' (*Long live Germany*). Again and again I have been told by Mohammedans that it was Germany who caused the Armenians to be extirpated in this way. . . .

"Kadir Pasha said to me at Marash: 'I know that, pursuant to an order of the Government, the whole male population within the area of the 4th Army Corps was killed.' . . .

"In Ras-el-Ain a convoy of 200 girls and women arrived in a state of complete nudity; their shoes, their chemises, everything, in short, had been taken away from them and they were made to walk for four days under the hot sun—the temperature was 122° in the shade—in their condition of nakedness, jeered at and derided by the escorting soldiers. . . . Whenever the wretched exiles appealed to the humanity of the officials the reply was: 'We have strict orders from the Government to treat you in this way.' . . .

"In Besneh the whole population, consisting of 1800 souls, principally women and children, were expatriated; it was alleged that they were to be deported to Urfa. When they reached the Göksug, a tributary of the Euphrates, they were compelled to take their clothes off and thereupon they were all massacred and thrown into the river.¹

¹ The author was informed at Alexandretta that, for six months after the Armenian massacres of 1909, the inhabitants would not eat fish caught in the sea on account of the number of bodies which had been thrown into it.

"On a single day, latterly, 170 corpses were observed drifting down the Euphrates; and on several other days the number was fifty to sixty. Mr. A., an engineer, in the course of one ride, saw forty corpses. Those which were stranded on the river-shore are devoured by the dogs, while those which are caught by the sandbanks in the river are eaten up by the vultures. . . .

"At Arab Punar a Turkish major, who spoke German, expressed himself as follows: 'I and my brother have taken a young girl at Ras-el-Ain who had been left on the road. We are very angry with the Germans for doing these things.' When I contradicted them, they said: 'The Chief of the General Staff is a German; von der Goltz is the Commander, and so many German officers are in the army. Our Koran does not permit the treatment which the Armenians have to suffer at present.' . . . At Nuss Tell a Mohammedan inspector spoke similarly in conversation with a clerk. When I reproached him about this utterance, in the presence of others, he said: 'It is not only I who say this; every one will tell you the same tale.'

"At Bridjik the prisons are always full in the day-time; they are emptied at night. Tell Armen, a village of 3000 inhabitants, was raided; the inhabitants were massacred, the dead and living were thrown into the wells or burnt. Major von Kusch was a witness of the devastation. A German cavalry captain saw unburied corpses on both sides of the road with their throats cut. Innumerable corpses of children were seen on the way by Mr. S."¹

"This is the teaching of the Germans," says the simple Turk, when asked about the authors of these measures. The better educated Mohammedans are convinced that, though the German people may disapprove of such horrors, the German Government took no steps to prevent them out of consideration for their Turkish allies.

"Mohammedans of more refined feelings, Turks as well as Arabs, shake their heads disapprovingly; they do

¹ Extracts from the records of a German who died in Turkey. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-79.

not even conceal their tears when, in the passage of a convoy of deported Armenians through the town, they see Turkish soldiers violently using their heavy sticks against women in an advanced state of pregnancy or dying persons who cannot drag themselves any farther. They cannot imagine that their Government has ordered these cruelties, and think that all excesses are the fault of the Germans, who, during the war, are the instructors in all matters. Even the Mullahs declare in the mosques that it was not the Sublime Porte but the German officers who had ordered the ill-treatment and the annihilation of the Armenians.

"The things which in this place have been before everybody's eyes during many months will, indeed, be and remain a blot on Germany's shield of honour in the eyes of all oriental nations. . . .

"Another man (Herr Spiecker, of Aleppo) saw some Turks tying a number of Armenians together and sending a number of shots from rook-rifles into the mass of human beings; then they went away, laughing aloud, while their horribly convulsed victims expired slowly. Other men were sent rolling down steep slopes with their hands tied behind their backs. Below, there were women who mangled those who had rolled down, with their knives, continuing these tortures until they were dead. A Protestant minister, who, two years ago, had given a most cordial reception to my colleague Dr. Graeter, had his finger-nails torn out.

"The German Consul at Mosul said, in my presence, in the German Club at Aleppo, he had seen hacked-off children's hands on his way from Mosul to Aleppo in sufficient number to pave a street.¹

"In the German hospital at Urfa there is also a little girl, both of whose hands have been hacked off. Herr Holstein,

¹ The editor of these documents here appends the following note—

"The fact, which comes out clearly in several of the documents included in this pamphlet, that many German Consuls reported indignantly about these horrors and that their reports were left unheeded, throws a lurid light on the attitude of the German Government."

the German Consul at Mosul, also saw, in the neighbourhood of an Arab village, shortly before reaching Aleppo, shallow graves with corpses of Armenians with reference to whom the Arab villagers said that they had killed them by order of the Government. One of them said proudly that he had killed eight. . . .

"We are the allies of Turkey, and having eliminated the influence of the Frenchman, the Englishman, and the Russian, we are the only ones who have anything to say in Turkey. We may indignantly repudiate the lies circulated in enemy countries that the massacres have been organised by German Consuls; we shall not, however, destroy the belief of the Turkish people that Germany has ordered the Armenian massacres, unless some energetic steps are at last taken by German diplomatists and German officers. . . . It would be a serious mistake to assume that the Turkish Government would, of its own accord, desist from the annihilation of women and children, unless the strongest pressure were to be exercised by the German Government.

"A short time before my departure from Aleppo, in May, 1916, all the women and children encamped at Ras Agin, on the Baghdad railway line, whose number was estimated at 20,000, were mercilessly slaughtered." ¹

Any one who wishes to complete this tale of horrors may read *The Murder of a Nation*,² by A. J. Toynbee, or the collection of documents from which our last quotations were taken, or the Blue Books.

Nor is Turkey alone in her imitation of Germany's methods of warfare. The *Matin* learns from Salonika that the Serbian refugees arriving there give terrible details of the atrocities committed in their country by the Bulgarians: "All the Serbians who fall into the hands of the Bulgarians are barbarously tortured to death, without regard to their age or sex. Nameless acts of cruelty have been committed, notably in the environs of Nish, where

¹"A word to the accredited representatives of the German people," by Dr. Martin Niepage, Higher Grade Teacher at the German Technical School at Aleppo. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-111.

²Hodder & Stoughton.

hundreds of women and children have been burnt in the churches, in which they have taken refuge, hoping that the sacred character of these edifices would inspire the invaders with mercy. In Macedonia, pillage and incendiarism have been carried on with such method that no house remains standing where the Bulgarians have passed.”¹

According to the *Agence des Balkans*, the Bulgarian troops which invaded Serbia systematically massacred the civil population, burning the towns and villages. Nameless atrocities were committed by them in the Timok and the district of New Serbia. Hundreds of men were shot, hanged, or burnt alive. Children were mutilated in abominable fashion and tortured to death. Women and young girls were handed over by the officers to their men, and in most cases shot or burnt, after having been outraged. Prisoners and wounded were covered with petroleum and burnt alive or their eyes and tongues were torn out. Some atrocities are too hideous to be mentioned.

“The frightful atrocities,” reports another newspaper, “committed by the Bulgars and Germans at Tutrakan have caused great indignation throughout Roumania. Those who were waverers as regards the policy of taking sides against the Central Powers are among the first to demand ample reprisals upon the enemies across the Danube, and a fight to the finish is called for. ‘Let not a Bulgar be allowed to remain on earth’ is the general cry. Prisoners were put up against walls and shot in batches by the Germans. The ambulance corps in Tutrakan, while waiting for wounded to be brought in, were set upon by the populace and put to unheard-of tortures, women and children aiding gleefully in the atrocious work. The hospitals in Bucharest contain hundreds of proofs of the savagery of the Bulgars; but those who escaped are but a handful compared with those who fell victims to the frightful tortures inflicted on them by those fiends in human shape. The Roumanian authorities are causing strict investigations to be made, and soon another set of horrors will be ready to present, with protest, to the neutral Powers.”

¹ November, 1915.

XII

THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

OF the treatment of our soldiers and those of our Allies imprisoned in Germany we have examples in the official reports on the encampments at Wittenberg and Gardelegen. The sufferings endured by the British prisoners at Wittenberg, where 15,000 persons were crowded into a space of 10½ acres, are described in a report presented by the Committee appointed by the Government to inquire into the treatment by the enemy of British soldiers taken prisoners. Let the reader study it.¹

Meanwhile the following short summary of the story given by a daily newspaper will suffice:—

“To-day the whole of the British Empire is reading the story of the Horrors of the Wittenberg Camp, and the horror of it will never die. It will remain for ever on the roll of the abominations of the world. Typhus broke out in the Wittenberg Camp in the beginning of 1915. All the German medical authorities abandoned the camp at once; food, drink, medical dressing, drugs, were all either stinted to starvation point or refused altogether with curses on the English swine who asked for them. The uninfected were compelled to mingle with the infected. The healthy were compelled to sleep on the mattresses which had been used by the sick. The only stretchers available were the tables on which the men had their food . . . Other horrors are scarcely to be told.

“The other day we rescued the crew of a drowning Zeppelin. We treated these murderers kindly. Two English officers turned out of bed to make room for the captain

¹ *The Horrors of Wittenberg*: Official Report of the British Government.

murderer and his lieutenant. The Zeppelin-men expected to be shot, knowing that they deserved to be shot, and they told the neutral journalists who saw them that they were very well treated. And the Wittenberg people jeered at the coffins of our English dead as they were brought out for burial from the prison camp.”¹

As to Gardelegen, Major Davy says in his evidence: “The overcrowding was such as I have never before seen or imagined anywhere. The hut contained, in the breadth, four rows of straw or shaving palliasses, so arranged that laterally they were touching and terminally only left the narrowest passage-way between. Here men of all nationalities were crowded together. In these huts, devoid of tables and stools, the men lived, slept, and fed. They sat on their bags of shavings to eat their meals; they walked over each other in passing in and out; they lay there sick, and later on, in many cases, died there cheek by jowl with their fellow-prisoners. The atmosphere by day, and still more by night, was indescribably foetid, and this was their sole alternative to going outside in their meagre garments for fresh air.”

Captain Scott-Williams shows how this specially affected the British prisoners: “It was like one large palliasse all round the room. If one man was lying on his back, his neighbour must be on his side.”

“I have no hesitation,” says Major Davy, “in saying that the diet the prisoners received was not sufficient to keep an adult in a normal state of nutrition. I wish to be clearly understood: I mean that every man who subsisted on what was issued to him was gradually getting emaciated and anæmic, and was constantly a prey to the pangs of hunger.”

“It was no unusual sight,” according to the testimony of Captain Brown, to see a crowd of Russians on their hands and knees in the pit in which potato peelings were thrown, struggling to find a stray potato or a piece of rind with a little more potato than usual. This occurred day after day.” . . .

¹ *Evening News*, 10th April, 1916.

"At the daily roll-call parades," says Major Davy, "men were driven out of their barrack-rooms with kicks and blows. The German under-officers were the chief offenders. The German officers, of whom one was in command of each company, were mostly elderly men, who seemed quite in the hands of their under-officers. I never once saw one check an under-officer for the most flagrant bullying! . . ."

No. 7 Company was the first to be visited by Captain Brown. This is his description of the experience—

"Snow had fallen, and was still falling heavily, and the cold was intense. On entering the barrack-room the shock I received was too awful for words. The atmosphere was almost too foul. All windows were shut as the only means of warmth. There were about 150 of the most miserable human objects I ever beheld—British, French, and Belgians occupied this room, the number of British here being about twenty-six. The men were emaciated, ill-clad, and dirty beyond description, and in most cases were engaged in killing as many lice as possible in their clothes: 'to keep the numbers down as much as possible,' as one man put it. The senior non-commissioned officer in the room was a company sergeant-major of the Royal Scots. Being so appalled with the dirty state of all the men, himself included, I remonstrated with him and asked him why they were so positively filthy, and if they had lost all their interest in life, for so it seemed. His reply was that they had no opportunity of a bath since their arrival. 'How long have you been here?' I asked and the reply came 'Ten weeks.'"

Thus were sown the seeds of the epidemic which soon supervened.¹

¹*The Typhus Epidemic at Gardelegen. Report by the Government Committee on the Treatment by the Enemy of British Prisoners of War during the Spring and Summer of 1915.* The reports of the American Minister in Germany show that the treatment of prisoners is much the same in other towns than Wittenberg and Gardelegen, and the tortures to which they are subjected during their conveyance from one place to another have been described by many eyewitnesses.—See *Belgian Reports*.

Contrast these stories with the letters which German prisoners write to their friends, such as the following—

. . . "You need have no anxiety about me. I am exceptionally well. I have never been better in my life. Germany might find something better to do than to spread such lies. England treats her prisoners most humanely. I was not nearly so well off when I was a soldier. . . . I am working at present, but quite voluntarily. England does not compel her prisoners to work as Germany does. Food is also plentiful, just like at home; all I need is cigarettes. You may send me a few."

. . . "They do everything possible for us. I have been given so many cigarettes? We may have as much to eat as we want. Also the medical treatment could not be better."

. . . "We should never have dreamed of being received so well. Everything that had been taken away from us before has been given back to us. We were immediately given fried eggs." . . .

"I am lying in hospital since May 15, suffering from typhus, but I am much better now. The medical treatment and nursing are very good. I hope the wounded and sick over there are as well cared for."¹ . . .

Reports of visits of inspection made by officials of the United States Embassy (German Division) to internment camps in the United Kingdom all testify to the comfort, and even luxury, which the German prisoners enjoy in this country, including facilities for football, tennis, billiards, theatrical performances, and rooms where they listen to lectures and study foreign languages. The sanitary conditions are reported to be perfect, the food excellent. Gardens are allotted to the prisoners where they grow flowers and vegetables.

¹ We are not authorised to give the names of the writers of these letters, but the reader may rest assured that they are authentic.

"There is a special winter garden with plants and palm trees and an outdoor compound for the convalescents, and there is also a special library in the hospital for the use of the patients. Everything was inspected and found in excellent condition. . . .

"There are libraries containing about 2500 books, which are in constant circulation. A new reading-room has lately been opened. . . .

"The men are now very busy making arrangements for Shakespearean performances to celebrate the Tercentenary of Shakespeare's death, and these are to take place before long. . . .

"I was informed that the interned men now have freedom to wander about the park and compounds at will during the day."

(Report covering a visit to the prisoners of war internment camp at Alexandra Palace on the 24th May, 1916.)

"Besides the usual 'Lowry' and 'Markel' committees, there is an Austro-Hungarian committee, which devotes its particular attention to interned Austrians and Hungarians; a kitchen committee, which arranges everything to do with the mess; a sports committee, a theatrical committee, a Y.M.C.A. committee, and a camp committee which deals with the internal arrangement and affairs of the camp. All these committees are chosen and run by the prisoners themselves."

(Report covering a visit of inspection to the prisoners of war internment camp at Lofthouse Park, Wakefield, on the 8th June, 1916.)

"The committees are all controlled by the prisoners themselves. There is a mess and canteen committee, a sports committee, a location committee which arranges in which rooms the officers are quartered, and an amusement committee. . . .

"Two new lawn-tennis courts have been laid out, which give the interned men three courts in all. A new skittle-

alley has been made, which the servants are allowed to use for two hours each afternoon. The opportunities for exercise, mentioned in the last report, are in constant use. On the exercise ground, hockey and football are played on alternate days. The system of taking walks in the surrounding country has been inaugurated, and on every fine day about twenty-five officers go for a walk, lasting from one to two hours, accompanied by an officer and an orderly of the guard. On the day of our visit one of us went out with the walking party, and enjoyed a pleasant walk through beautiful country."

(Report covering a visit of inspection to the prisoners of war internment camp at Donington Hall, Derbyshire, on the 9th June, 1916.)

"All the rooms were fresh and spotlessly clean. The men had made them bright with flowers, and some of them had singing birds in cages hanging in the windows. On the walls there were pictures and portraits of the German Emperor, German Generals, the King of Saxony, and many photographs.

"Ships' captains and ships' officers have separate rooms and a separate mess."

(Report covering a visit of inspection to the prisoners' of war internment camp at Oldcastle, county Meath, Ireland, on the 10th June, 1916.)

XIII

METHODS OF PERSUASION

By the perpetration of these abominable atrocities, the Germans not only hope to wreak their vengeance on those who have dared to oppose their invading armies, but to give the neutral States to understand that the same fate is reserved for them, should they throw in their lot with the enemies of the Central Powers. At the same time, they are employing all dishonourable means in order to bring these neutral States over to their own cause.

Since the beginning of the war, and indeed for some time previously to its outbreak, their agents have been at work in every quarter of the globe, disseminating among the inhabitants stories to the discredit of their enemies. No means, however despicable, have been neglected in the pursuit of this object. Pamphlets are distributed among the Mussulmans, alleging that England and her Allies have declared war against Turkey with the sole intention of suppressing the Moslem faith. One of a series of sheets distributed in Persia states that Lord Kitchener, Sir Edward Grey and other Ministers, French, Russian and English, have made it clear in their "diabolical" speeches that they have declared war against Turkey for the express purpose of destroying the Holy Places of Islam, whereas it is well-known to every Moslem who has had any experience of English rule that it is one of its most sacred principles to respect the traditions of Islam, as indeed those of all religions. Moreover, Mr. Asquith most emphatically stated, on behalf of the English people, that, although England is at war with Turkey, she is not and never will be at war with Moslems as such, but will, on the contrary, protect

their Holy Places against all aggressors. The Germans know that this is so, but, in accordance with their monstrous doctrine that everything is permissible which conduces to the success of their object, they do not hesitate to promulgate such calumnies. Such a thing as chivalry or fair play is unknown to their nature.

No opportunity of carrying out this campaign has been neglected. The writer has a copy in his possession of an exercise in German given at the beginning of the war to the pupils of a German school in one of the Turkish towns, in which the following words occur—

“Every German soldier is a man of honour and any one who is incapable of becoming a soldier on account even of some physical defect is despised by the rest of his compatriots.

“No man of honour enlists in the English army. Every English soldier is a criminal; either a murderer or a robber, or a pickpocket or a man of low passions.”¹

Huge sums of money are spent in bribing the proprietors of newspapers and persons of influence to publish telegrams and leading articles, misrepresenting the facts of the war. In one of the Balkan States alone twenty million francs were spent in this way.

It has been stated that ten million pounds were paid by the German Government for Press propaganda in foreign countries during the first two years of the war, according to an interpellation addressed to the Imperial Chancellor in the Reichstag by the dissenting Socialists. For the same object two million pounds were spent in the United States, one million in Greece, five hundred thousand in Turkey, and five hundred thousand in Bulgaria. It was also found necessary to sacrifice six hundred thousand pounds to Austrian and seven hundred thousand to Hungarian newspapers. The leading papers of Vienna and Budapest are almost without exception on the pay-list of the German Foreign Office. Approximately two hundred thousand

¹ Instruction in the details of Germany's might, such as the dimensions of her ships of war, was already imparted before the war, through the medium of dictations and reading exercises.

pounds have been paid to newspapers in the German-speaking parts of Switzerland.

According to the estimate of Mr. George Haven Putnam, the head of the American Rights Committee, \$27,000,000 (£5,400,000) have been spent in America, since the war began, under German authority for propaganda work, destruction of American property, furtherance of strikes, and the purchase of American papers. This statement was made by Mr. Putnam in answer to a letter from Dr. O. Mezger, the German Consul-General at Cincinnati, who protested against the charges of German brutality in Belgium, and asserted that "Americans are misled by their newspapers, which have been hired by English money." Mr. Putnam stated further that he had received a great mass of German propaganda material, and added—

"I have not received a single document from the British, French, or Italian representatives. They are content to permit the justice of their cause to stand for itself. The statements presenting the cause of England and France have come to me from individual correspondents on the other side of the Atlantic."

In one of their pamphlets, distributed in the East, it is stated that only the scum of the Indian population has responded to England's appeal, whereas, in fact, every ruling Indian chief, within the first fortnight of the war, placed his entire military and financial resources at the disposal of the British Government.

They have circulated pamphlets throughout the whole extent of China announcing that England, France and Russia have accepted a humiliating peace and have practically acknowledged Germany's suzerainty over their dominions.

The following, according to the *Gaulois*,¹ is the text of a letter addressed to the Sheikh of the Senoussi in Arabic, and found, together with a hundred thousand marks in gold, on board a sailing-boat seized outside Tripoli by a French torpedo-boat: "The Emperor William, son of Charlemagne, the Envoy of Allah, Protector of Islam, to

¹ *August*, 1915.

the most illustrious Chief of the Senoussi. We pray God to lead your armies to victory. Our will is, that your valiant warriors expel the infidels from the territory which belongs to the believers and to their Commander. We send you for this purpose, arms, money and some experienced leaders. Our common enemies (whom may Allah exterminate to the last man) will fly in confusion from before you. So be it."

The French Press affirms that German agents have attempted to demoralise French officers and soldiers at the front by sending them anonymous letters accusing their wives and sisters of infidelity, and their partners in business of embezzlement.¹

"The Germans employ their aeroplanes for carrying on their propaganda as well as for throwing bombs," observes M. Charles Ghenu in the *Gaulois*. He describes some of the pamphlets and newspapers which have been dropped over the French lines. One of the former in his possession contains the following words: "French Soldiers! The Germans are making war on the French Government only, which is sacrificing you and your country to the egotism of the English. You have to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the English." Foremost among their propaganda newspapers is the *Gazette des Ardennes*, which is printed in bad French at Charleville, and circulated as widely as possible in the districts occupied by the German troops. Its contents are a model of hypocrisy and deceit. The writers affect great sympathy for the French and their sufferings, as well as admiration for their bravery. Lists of French prisoners are given therein—"adversaries who have done their duty," and are treated as such in Germany. Pages of the names of the seriously wounded—the blind, the paralysed, and the permanently maimed—are published out of consideration for their families, who, as it is stated, "are not informed of their fate by the French Republic, because it does not wish them to return to their people and inform them of the kind treatment that they receive at the hands of the Germans, and so counteract its

¹ See the *Matin*, September 25, 1915.

sinister object, which is to nourish a blind hatred against the German nation.”¹ . . .

The following is the text of an appeal by the Austrian military authorities to Italian troops to surrender, numerous copies of which were distributed by means of aeroplanes—

“Soldiers of Italy, you are being wickedly drawn into a war of conquest and rapine. To fire treacherously upon your allies of yesterday is an immoral and a cowardly act, unprecedented in history, an act which calls for vengeance. Divine Providence will punish all those who commit such infamy. Every one of you, in the presence of God and of death, should condemn this monstrous crime which it is desired to perpetrate at the cost of your blood. Think of the terrible fatigue, and the constant danger to which a blinded Government is about to expose you! Think what irreparable misery will be brought upon your unhappy families by the loss of their support! Why expose yourselves to such a calamity, when there is a possibility of avoiding it? Take advantage of every opportunity to surrender whenever there is a favourable moment. Refuse obedience, and follow in a body the example of so many of your comrades, who have come to us of their own accord, and will never have cause to complain. You will receive a reward for all arms and other war material which you hand over to us—for every rifle complete 10 crowns, for every mitrailleuse complete 500 crowns, for every cannon complete 2000 crowns, for every aeroplane 2000 crowns, for every horse 150 crowns. In Austria the prisoners of war are very well treated. They are kept in groups in villages; they enjoy full liberty, receive substantial repasts as well as a money allowance, and are secure against all danger. Do not hesitate then. Come in a body. You will be welcome. Give this note as much publicity as possible. Encourage your friends.”

It is impossible in a short space to give the reader any conception of the energy, cunning and unscrupulousness with which the pro-German campaign is carried on in neutral countries. Men and women of all ranks and conditions from diplomatic representatives to domestic serv-

¹ *Gaulois*, December 28, 1915.

ants and persons of infamous character, play their part in it. It has required whole volumes of hundreds of pages to describe the details of its organisation in the United States of America alone.¹

The system of pro-German propagandism established there by Count Dernburg and others was already very complete before the war began, but new agents appeared directly it broke out. "Each arriving Dutch, Scandinavian and Italian steamer," writes Mr. Wile, "brought new ones, women as well as men. They were mostly of the intellectual type and came armed with entreating letters of introduction from German *savants* to their American colleagues, upon whose affections Germany and the Kaiser had so long been working. To a couple of American exchange professors William II sent autograph letters of gratitude for zeal in his cause. By Christmas time it was estimated that not less than one hundred German speakers were 'spell-binding' (speechifying) in the United States. . . . Meanwhile the United States mails were freighted with tons of German literature, such as that with which the country is familiar during presidential elections. Experienced Americans—men who know the dollars and cents of such crusades—estimated that the campaign was costing Germany £50,000 a week."

But the mission of the German agents has not been limited to speechifying or even to intimidation. Not a few have been arrested on the charge of attempting to place explosive bombs on board American ships carrying munitions to England, and to blow up munition factories in America,² without the remotest concern for the whole-

¹The reader is referred to such works as *l'Action Allemande aux États Unis*, by Gabriel Alphaud (Paris, 1915); *German Conspiracies in America*, by William H. Skaggs (1915); *The German-American Plot*, by Frederick William Wile (1915).

²Explosions and fires in munition factories, which caused heavy loss of life among American subjects, have taken place "at Wilmington (September 1, 1915); in the Bethlehem, Baldwin, and Roebling Works (November, 1915); in the Dupont Works (December 1) when thirty-one men were killed; while Hopewell, where lived the men employed in one of the Dupont Powder Works, was set on fire and destroyed on December 9."—*The National Review*, January, 1917.

sale slaughter of innocent citizens which would ensue. The documents recently seized on Captain von Papen, the German Military Attaché at Washington, and published in facsimile in a White Book (Miscellaneous, No. 6, 1916), show that this person was employing paid agents to commit such crimes as these.

These documents contain evidence, also, that the German and Austrian Embassies in America paid for attacks on Canadian territory; thus, the cheque paid for the destruction of an important bridge on the Canadian Pacific Railway by a German agent named Horn, on February 2, 1915, was seized with Captain von Papen's luggage by the British Government.¹

Such, in brief, are the methods our enemies employ in order to attain their object, and these methods, however immoral, are permissible—the State being in German eyes, as we have seen, “above morality.” Incapable, in spite of the colossal preparations they have made for years past with a view to Germanising the world, of fighting all the nations at once, they are anxious at the present moment not to multiply their enemies; but, on the contrary, to win over, by all means and at all costs, as many of them as they can to their cause. We know that they wanted England to stand by and wait until France and Russia were crushed, and that they are more embittered against us than any of their other adversaries because we were too wise to adopt this course. Nothing is clearer than that Germany, if she succeeds in humbling her present adversaries, will speedily establish her dominion over the remaining nations of the globe, including her own allies. If any one fails to see this, it is because he wilfully closes his eyes. German politicians, professors, military experts, theologians and editors of newspapers have, as we have seen, been crying “Deutschland über Alles” from the house-tops every day for years past.

¹ Von Papen has also subsidised attempts to start revolutions in India, according to the confession of a Hindu student, to whom the sum of £8000 to £10,000 was supplied for that purpose.

XIV

THE WORLD UNDER GERMAN RULE; THE FATE OF ISLAM

AND when they have conquered the world, how will they use their victory? What will happen is too appalling to contemplate. Having stopped at nothing during the war, will they stop at anything when it is over? All nations are to be moulded after themselves—*Deutschtum*, German thought, German methods and German manners pervading everywhere. And in Germany, as Fernau, himself a German, says: "Individual opinions no longer exist, but only opinions that have found official sanction. Journalists and newspapers standing to attention! Field-grey sentiments and field-grey science! Iron words and iron money! The whole nation one mass of bronze, in which no golden streak of individual character is allowed to glimmer." ¹ We may expect no more liberty than that which the eminent theologian Professor Lezius suggested should be accorded to the races already subject to Germany. "The Polish Press," he wrote, "should be simply annihilated. All Polish societies should be suppressed, without the slightest apology being made for such a measure. This summary procedure should be likewise applied to the French and Danish Press, as well as to the societies of Alsace-Lorraine and Schleswig-Holstein. Especially should no consideration whatever be shown to anything relating to the Poles. The Constitution should be altered with regard to the latter. The Poles should be looked upon as helots. They should be allowed but three priv-

¹ *Gerade weil ich Deutscher bin* (English Translation, *Because I am a German*), p. 25.

ileges: to pay taxes, serve in the army, and shut their jaws." ¹

There will be but one law, that of the Kaiser of Germany,² who has said: "Only one is master of this country. That is I. Who opposes me I shall crush to pieces." Blind obedience will be owed to a State which is "above morality," which subordinates right to might, which will control the education of our children and instruct them one and all in the abominable gospel of dirt which, in Lord Rosebery's words, has "already caused this nation to stink in the nostrils of mankind."

The world, in fact, will be absorbed in the German State. "After the war victorious Germany will compel the States defeated in the war to enter its confederation; the same will be done to the others, the neutrals, and if they do not consent, Germany will be *able to force them*. Germany *alone* will remain armed; the other armies will no longer have a reason for resistance. Germany will suffice for the protection of *Deutschtum*; she will be the centre of gravity of the world from the military point of view, and also from the point of view of scientific and intellectual culture." ³

Personal liberty will be a thing of the past. "The word *liberty*," writes the *Kölnische Zeitung*, "dominates the political life of the western countries, whilst their society is animated by a spirit of unscrupulous individualism."⁴

¹ Quoted from the *Vorwärts* by Emil Reich (*Germany's Swelled Head*), p. 43.

² "Germany has over all other States," writes Professor Ostwald, "the superiority of being an organising State; the secret of her power is her organising genius, and the war ought to enable her, through the reduction of Europe to obedience, to organise it into a vast confederation at whose head would stand the Emperor of Germany."—Quoted in *The War and the German Propaganda*, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "According to Treitschke the individual exists only to promote the welfare of the State; in return the latter protects him in warfare."—Professor F. A. Smith, Ph.D., in *The Soul of Germany*, p. 169.

"Individualism, so far as it represents the protection of

Neither for the one nor for the other is there any room in the Germany which has been built up by the Hohenzollerns; that is the reason why Western Europe instinctively fears the imposition of German influence on Europe. It is true that the German has not got the same standards of political liberty as prevails in those countries. Historical experiences have caused him to doubt, and he asks himself whether liberty is really desirable for him and whether it is possible." ¹

Civilians will be of no account. Militarism will be rampant in its worst form. "The lack of good faith on the part of our neighbours, and our open frontiers, will for ever compel us to remain a *great military State*. Neither Belgium, nor England, nor democratic France is a military State: hence the gulf which separates our ideals and our culture from theirs, and that gulf truly appears unbridgeable. We cannot afford the luxury of the catchword *liberty*." ²

There will be no place for the weak.³ Democracy will be at an end.

"Germany, the last and perfect example of organised militarism and brute force—the foundation stone of whose system is the monstrous electoral law which enables the military caste and minority to rule Prussia, and Prussia to dominate all Germany and make it one vast aggressive machine to be used at the will and word of the autocratic power! Germany, whose Parliament is regarded contemptuously as a useful screen behind which the Power works its will. Germany, whose whole record does not include one example of a prosperous, contented, or self-governing province or colony. Germany, whose people have

personal rights against any infringement of them by the group, is, in the eyes of the Germans, nothing less than anarchy and insanity. It is only as members of a group formed of many individuals that the weak can hope to obtain justice for themselves."—*L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, p. 45.

¹ *Kölnische Zeitung*, September 1, 1914; quoted in *The War and the German Propaganda*, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*

³ "The weak and defective shall go to the wall."—*Nietzsche*. This is an almost universal dictum of the great "Intellectuals."

been born and reared in the creed that, without one word of warning as to the origin, justice, or object of a quarrel, they may be hurled into murderous war to stake and lose all at the nod of an autocrat's head! Surely, one huge engine of Aggression!"¹

"Read Tannenberg's book and then ask yourself, as M. Millioud says in the preface to his translation of *Gross-Deutschland*, "whether the fate of civilisation, that is to say, of liberty, right, democracy and the sovereignty of the people, is or is not at stake at the present moment."

"In particular this is a war for the people. They have seen it. They perceive that the very existence of democracy as it has flourished in this little country is threatened with a death-wound. If we could imagine the war-lords flushed with so stupendous a triumph as a prostrate Europe at their feet, no one could fail to see the essential elements of honourable, happy, self-respecting life would be at an end."²

Machiavelli will be reinstated and practised in every function of our lives;³ sympathy, pity⁴ and all the gentler traits of human nature discouraged and perhaps stamped out to make room for hatred, envy, selfishness and brutality; eternal war⁵ in place of "peace and goodwill towards all men." Truthfulness and loyalty—to anything but the State-machine—will be looked upon as vices, distrust and cunning as virtues. For if a State may break its treaties or a statesman tamper with a public document,⁶

¹ Sir Percy Fitzpatrick in *Germany's Designs on South Africa*, pp. 121-2.

² Sir William Robertson Nicoll, in an appeal to Nonconformists, *The Great War Book* (Hodder & Stoughton), p. 66.

³ "It will always be to the glory of Machiavelli . . . that he has freed the State and its morality from the precepts inculcated by the Church."—Treitschke, *Politik*.

⁴ "Pity is opposed to the invigorating passions which enhance the energy and feeling of life. Its action is depressing. . . . Pity thwarts the law of development."—*Ibid*.

⁵ "We must accept war, which will last as long as development and existence; we must accept eternal war."—Klaus Wagner, *Krieg*, p. 257.

⁶ Bismarck related with pride in the *Neue Freie Presse*, 1892,

why may not an individual break his contract or forge a cheque? A system of espionage will be established throughout the world like that which already exists in Germany: and if every individual must merge his personality in the German State, if not only our acts but our thoughts are to be guided by principles laid down by that State, will not religious freedom become a thing of the past? Will our children be merely flogged, as in German Poland, if they refuse to say their prayers in German, or will they be forbidden to say them at all except in conformity with some creed to be determined by the State? Christianity finds no place in the teaching of Treitschke and his followers; and has not the philosopher Haeckel declared, with great wit no doubt in his own estimation, that the country, having no further use for God, has now conducted Him across the frontier? It is true that under the Kaiser's auspices, as it appears, a kind of tribal god or God of Atrocities, of the nature of the deity who presided at the councils of the Thugs of India, has been set up since the war began under the name of the good old German god; but he certainly possesses none of the attributes of the God who is worshipped by any of the great nations of the earth. "In a word the Kaiser's religion is a German religion, his God is a German God; his Church is a German church. His Deity is a Lord of Hosts and a God of Battles—a conception taken almost literally out of the pages of the Old Testament, more or less amalgamated with the idealism of the Norse mythology. In the Emperor's mind the Israelitish idea of Javeh is quite indistinguishable from the Scandinavian idea of Thor"¹—Thor, the son of Odin or Wotan, the God of Thunder, the Hammer-God, the incarnation of violence and champion of might as opposed to right. The Germans, as worthy representatives of his race, must hack their way through to the conquest of the world.

how he had falsified the famous Ems telegram and so rendered war with France in 1870 inevitable. "Blessed be the hand which forged the Ems telegram," wrote Professor Hans Delbrück.—*Paroles Allemandes*, p. 56.

¹ *Germany's War Mania*, p. 95.

The following legend is adopted by Tannenberg as an introduction to his *Gross-Deutschland*:—

“Thor stood at the northern end of the world. He threw the battle-axe—the heavy battle-axe: ‘As far as, whistling through the air, the hammer falls, both land and seas are mine.’ And the hammer flew from his hand, flew over the whole of the earth and fell down at the most distant edge of the south, so that all was his. Since when it is the joyous privilege of the German to conquer land with the hammer. We are of the race of the Hammer-God and we will possess his world-empire.”¹ The favourite myths of German paganism are stories of violence.

“One of the books encouraging the aspirations of young Germans for world dominion is the *Jugendgeleitbuch, Gedenke dass du ein Deutscher bist*. On the cover is an illustration of Walhalla, the abode of the Norse deities of old, of whom the chief was Thor, the war-god. The book is advertised as ‘The Song of Songs of the German civilising power, a fitting gift to send to young men and to girls, a guide for officers, professors and educators of the people, indispensable to all those who live abroad.’ ”²

As far as Germany is concerned, it cannot be said that Christianity has ever completely disenthroned the gods of Walhalla.³ Traces of their worship have existed even in

¹ “Thor stand am Mitternachtsende der Welt,
Die Streitaxt warf er, die schwere:
‘Soweit der sausende Hammer fällt,
Sind mein das Land und die Meere!’
Und es flog der Hammer aus seiner Hand,
Flog über die ganze Erde,
Fiel nieder am fernsten südens Rand,
Dass alles sein eigen werde.
Seitdem ist es freudig Germanenrecht
Mit dem Hammer Land zu erwerben.
Wir sind des Hammergottes Geschlecht,
Und wollen sein Weltreich erobern.”

(The author of these lines is the poet Felix Dahn.)

² *L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, p. 84.

³ “Odinism” existed in Germany before it appeared in Scandinavia.

modern times, and where they are no longer worshipped by name their attributes are still the guiding principles of the nation. Quite recently attempts were made in various parts of Germany to reinstate the gods themselves in all their glory. A mystic society was formed at Munich under the name of the *Odin Verein*, the object of which was to restore not only the Pagan methods of reasoning, but the actual worship of the gods of Walhalla. The most popular form of its propaganda consisted in a portrait of the Kaiser with the attributes of Thor.¹ A poem entitled "The German God," which has become extremely popular in Germany, is believed to have been issued by this society. "The enemies of Germany," it runs, "ask disdainfully: 'You, Germans, you call upon God and beseech Him to aid you in the fight. You have then a god of your own, whom we know not, who is on your side?' 'Yes,' cries Germany with one voice, 'and if you do not know him we will name him to you. The god who speaks through our cannons, the god who throws down your fortresses . . . the god of our swords who fills you with terror, he is the same all-powerful spirit who, for centuries has hovered over Germany . . . Wotan, the old wanderer among the clouds, the Wotan of our fathers, it is he and no other. . . . The god to whom we pray to-day, who feeds us with celestial fire, the holy spirit of Germany, it is he whom we must acknowledge.' " . . .

On the occasion of the christening of the German iron-clad, the *Heimdall*, in 1892, the Emperor addressed the ship as follows: "O Ship, I christen thee *Heimdall*. Thou

¹The same Kaiser is represented over the porch of the Cathedral at Metz as the prophet Daniel, on the Mount of Olives as Godfrey de Bouillon, and is said to have received at Constantinople the appellation of Hadji Mohammed Gilyôm, as having embraced the Mussulman religion. When the German army entered the Polish town of Czenstochowa the picture of the Virgin and Child was replaced in the Church by a portrait of the Kaiser. "Lights were placed before it, and the wretched people were daily driven in by the brutal German soldiers to kneel before the man whom they regard as the Devil incarnate." —*The Slavs of the War Zone*, by the Right Hon. W. F. Bailey, pp. 40-1.

shalt take thy name from the prehistoric times of our ancestors in the north. Thou shalt bear the name of a God whose mission it was to defend the golden gates of Walhalla. In the same way as that hero, in the hour of danger, blew his golden horn in the Twilight of the Gods, so, as I hope, O Ship! who wilt bear the great name of *Heimdall*, the sound of thy passing on the sea will sow trouble and dismay in the ranks of thy enemies.”¹

The *Temps*² publishes the “confessions” of a German deserter, an officer in the Reserve, the son of a German engineer and a Polish lady, from which we quote the following:—

“I had to make my studies in Bavaria. . . . The people there are still primitive. Two thousand years have passed without changing them in any way beneath the surface. Catholicism which they profess is idolatry pure and simple. . . . My comrades prided themselves on materialism of the grossest kind, they publicly avowed their absolute contempt for the Catholic doctrine and recognised no religion except that of the German fatherland and the old German gods. . . . For the country-people, to-day as ever, the forces of nature remain personified in half a dozen fantastic beings whose names they have forgotten, but of whom they give an exact description, and who are no other than the gods of Walhalla. . . . There is no reason, therefore, to be astonished that on ground so well prepared, after a century during which a multitude of historians have devoted themselves, with extraordinary zeal, to bringing about a revival of the traditions, the habits and the laws of primitive Germany, the old beliefs should have been re-established. . . . I did not then look upon these things as I see them to-day. With the simplicity of the Slav idealist—for I consider myself in reality more Slav than German—I looked upon this exhibition of German faith as an eccentricity of young men, a peculiar form of snobbishness, and I was only undeceived on the day when I entered Belgium

¹ See *Le Vieux Dieu Allemand*, pp. 68, 69, 70.

² July 18, 1915.

with our German troops and heard my chiefs extol as German virtues the most revolting brutality and shameful cruelty.”¹

The following story² was told by a lieutenant of the German Reserve forces, formerly a professor in one of the towns of Thuringia, now a prisoner in France:—

“During the summer months, which immediately preceded the hostilities, men were seen to emerge from the woods, who assumed the appearance of prophets. On clear moonlight nights they preached, in the glades, a curious form of religion. The old pagan myths were intermingled with precepts of the Bible. The prophet foretold evil times, a severe trial for Germany and terrible calamities. The German people could only save themselves by reverting to the most ancient rites, by accepting every sacrifice, and even offering up human victims to the gods. We must not fear to devote ourselves to the gods of the lower regions. We must offer blood, as did our ancestors to the unappeased divinities; the blood of women and children has ever been acceptable to them since the days of remote antiquity.”

The officer in question added that these addresses were renewed frequently and that the German masses went into the war intoxicated by such teaching. The atrocities which he had witnessed in Belgium had, in his opinion, no other origin.

“The bloodthirsty gods of Walhalla,” says M. Brenier, “whose tombstone it had seemed that the rude hand of Charlemagne had closed for ever, have, after ten centuries, risen again in all their vitality and their old lust for carnage. It is in their honour that so much innocent blood has been shed, that children’s hands have been severed from their arms, that so many towns have been reduced to a quarter of their population by fire and massacre. Thor

¹ *Le Vieux Dieu Allemand*, pp. 71, 72.

² The story was published in the *Echo de Paris*, June 8, 1915, and is quoted by M. Brenier.

has assuaged his hate for the Gothic Cathedrals,¹ Odin has gorged himself with human sacrifices. . . .

"It appeared to us to be of primary interest to throw on this important question as complete a light as is possible in the present state of our knowledge. There are several advantages in so doing: First, there is the interest of historical science; secondly, there is the proof that our soldiers are defending at the present moment, though unconsciously, the cause of Christianity itself, now threatened by the most appalling danger to which it has been exposed for centuries; lastly, the more complete knowledge of the German spirit with which no peace will ever be more than a truce until the civilising work of Charlemagne has been revived along the Rhine by means powerful enough to triumph over all resistance. . . .

"It was a duty to define the true character of German *Kultur* and point out the obligation under which Christianity and France are placed to annihilate it if they would themselves subsist." ²

* * * * *

As to the fate of Islam under German rule, let the followers of that religion study the official document lately seized by the Boer Commander, General Smuts, at the town of Moshee in East Africa after he had captured it from the Germans, and compare it with the Kaiser's assertion that

¹It is interesting, in this connection, to recall the prophetic words of Heine written seventy-eight years ago:—

"Christianity—and this is its highest merit—has, in some degree, softened, but it could not destroy, that brutal German joy of battle. When once the taming talisman, the Cross, breaks in two, the savagery of the old fighters, the senseless Berserker fury, of which the Northern poets sing and say so much, will gush up anew. That talisman is decayed, and the day will come when it will piteously collapse. Then the old stone gods will rise from the silent ruins, and rub the dust of a thousand years from their eyes. Thor, with his giant's hammer, will at last spring up, and shatter to bits the Gothic cathedrals!"—Quoted in *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, p. 315.

²*Le Vieux Dieu Allemand*, pp. 75, 76.

he is the protector of all the Mussulmans. It is as follows—

"Daressalâm, October 13, 1913.

"OFFICIAL CIRCULAR

to all the District and Military Stations and to the
Residency of Urundi.

"I have the honour to request the Administrative Authorities to report to me, within three months, as to the means by which it appears to them to be possible to check effectively the Islamic propaganda carried on by Government officials, and in particular by the teachers in the Government schools. Does it appear to be practicable to issue an Order altogether forbidding the above-mentioned persons to carry on any Islamic propaganda? It might be possible also to consider the question of passing a regulation forbidding the teachers to exceed their official functions by performing circumcision or the duties of reciter of prayers in the mosque. Further we may examine the question whether such an Order may not be issued with respect to the other coloured Government officials. As a practical means of preventing the extension of Islam, experts further recommend that the natives should be encouraged to occupy themselves with the breeding of swine.

"I beg that you will also take this proposal into consideration.

"The Imperial Governor,
(Signed) "SCHNEE.

"A true copy,

"The Central Bureau." ¹

¹"RUNDERLASS

an alle Bezirksämter und Militärstationen sowie die Residentur
Urundi.

"Die Dienststellen ersuche ich ergebenst um Bericht innerhalb 3 Monaten, welche Mittel dort möglich erscheinen, um der islamitischen Propaganda durch Regierungsangestellte und insbesondere Lehrer der Regierungsschulen wirksam entgegen zu wirken. Erscheint eine Bestimmung durchführbar, durch die den genannten Personen die islamitische Propaganda ganz untersagt wird? Eventuell käme auch eine Vorschrift in Betracht,

Let them also compare the wording of this document with Mr. Asquith's speech referred to below,¹ and let them say candidly if the statements there made are not in harmony with what they have always experienced; and whether they have had cause to complain, or heard any of their co-religionists complain, that England has ever placed any impediment in the way of the free exercise of the Mussulman creed or of the creed of any people living within her dominions. At the beginning of the war a Mussulman native of India, residing in Turkey, told the writer that he was asked by a Turk how it was that 80,000 Albanians were able to revolt against their Turkish rulers, while 80,000,000 Mussulmans in India were content to remain under British rule, and that he had replied that the Mussulmans in India had no desire to throw off their allegiance to a Power which showed such great respect as England does for the Mussulman creed. He told him, amongst other things, that more care is taken in India than in Turkey itself to ensure that no noise outside the mosques shall disturb the devotions of those within.

Neither the untiring efforts of German agents to create disturbance in India nor even the adhesion of the Turkish rulers to the German cause has made any impression on the inhabitants of that country. "As a true Mohammedan," wrote the Nizam of Hyderabad to the Viceroy, "who has the welfare of his community at heart, and who takes a just pride in the glorious traditions of the Mohammedan

durch die es den Lehrern verboten wird, nebenamtlich die Beschneidung, das Amt des Vorbeters in der Moschee u.s.w. auszuüben. Es wird auch zu prüfen sein, ob ein solches Verbot für sonstige farbige Regierungsangestellte durchführbar sein würde. Als wirksames Mittel gegen die Verbreitung des Islam wird von Sachkennern ferner die Förderung der Schweinezucht durch die Eingeborenen empfohlen.

"Auch zu diesem Vorschlag bitte ich Stellung zu nehmen.

"Der Kaiserliche Gouverneur,
(ges) "SCHNEE.

"Für richtige Abschrift,
"Zentral Bureau."

¹ p. 232.

people, I view with profound grief the unwise, short-sighted, and futile course adopted by Turkey in joining Germany as an ally. The British Government has spared no efforts to avoid war with Turkey."

In a speech delivered on October 1, 1914, Agha Khan, the spiritual head of an important community of Mohammedans and President of the All-India Moslem League, said he had always been convinced that Germany was the most dangerous enemy of Turkey and other Moslem countries, for she was the Power most anxious to enter by "peaceful penetration" Asia Minor and Southern Persia. But she had been posing for years past as a sort of Protector of Islam—though heaven forbid that they should ever have such an immoral protector. "We wish for peace under the King," writes the Emir of Bornu to the English Governor of the province, "and not under the Germans. . . . We are Mussulmans and not pagans, for we are free to worship in our own way and our religion is not interfered with. And so we pray God to prosper the King and to give him long life." The Emir of Kontagora writes: "We are continually praying God that He will give you the victory, and that He will destroy the Germans because we know well that they are an evil people of evil customs. Therefore may God not help them at all, because theirs is the custom to spoil the land."

The Grand Shereef of Mecca published, in November of last year, a second manifesto in vindication of his action against the Unionist¹ Government of Turkey, from a literal translation of which, published in *The Near East*,² the following are extracts:—

. . . . "It is well known that all wise Moslems and intelligent persons in the Ottoman Empire, and indeed, in the rest of the world, do not approve of the entry of the Ottoman Government in the present war, and this for essential reasons, of which the chief is that the Ottoman Government had only just come out of the Italian and Balkan

¹*I.e.* the Government formed by the so-called "Union and Progress" or "Young Turkey" party.

²In its issue of November 17, 1916.

wars. . . . But there are also other reasons of an external order which have reference to the group of belligerents with which it sided. The Ottoman Empire is a Moslem Empire of vast limits and an extensive coastline, and the traditional policy which the Sultans of the great house of Othman pursued has therefore always been based on the maintenance and improvement of friendly relations with those Powers in whose colonial empires the largest portion of the Moslems of the world live, and who hold the supremacy of the seas. When, therefore, the Unionist Government entered this war against these Powers, siding with the other group, whose inordinate ambitions of expansion are determined by over-population in their own countries, all far-seeing Moslems could easily realise the evil consequences that were bound to follow. I was one of those, when I was asked by telegram about my opinion on this war, and I replied, giving the advice that I could only in all conscience give. This, indeed, is one of the proofs of my sincere and loyal friendship to the Ottoman Government, and of my solicitude for its welfare and for the protection of the stronghold of Islam. . . . Whoever contemplates this state of things and watches the progress of this war cannot but see clearly the final result. We had either to give ourselves up to this threatening danger until we disappeared from the map of the world, or seek some means of escape. We leave it to the world at large to examine this question and reply thereto, and we have not the least doubt but that they will justify our rising, which came just in time, before ruin overtook by surprise the remnant of this empire. Ay, we have no misgiving whatever about the legitimacy of our movement, which, indeed, was incumbent on us as a duty. Did we at all believe that our continued attachment to this Government—which has become a toy in the hands of a few dictators—would be of any use to it and save its possessions, we should have refrained from the steps we have taken and would have possessed our souls in patience and borne our share of the sacrifice. But how was this possible when it became evident that, if we were to allow ourselves to be led in the

path they were treading, we should have both been hurled into the abyss of destruction, as was the case with the other vilayets?

"To illustrate the character of the Unionist leaders, and judge the measure of their loyalty and good faith, it suffices to mention that soon after the payment of the loan with which France helped them at the moment of their dire need they went over to the side of her enemies and declared war on her. But this is not the only test of their moral worth; the fact has been cited because of its being so notorious and of recent date. One has but to recall the acts of cruelty and injustice to which the people, Christians and Moslems alike, are subjected, and especially the inhuman treatment which those holding the power have meted out during this war to the Greeks and Armenians, contrary to the dictates of our holy Sheriat. They were, indeed, not long in following the same barbarous course against the Arabs of Syria and Irak, and even of Arabia, such as the people of Al Awali (one of the suburbs of Medina), whose women they have kidnapped and led to the barracks—an act which not only the Sheriat, but also Arab honour, reproves.

"Ay, we have risen, and we do not cease proclaiming that our declaration of hostility and hatred is directed against Enver, Jemal and Talaat, and their followers. All right-minded Moslems, even members of the house of Othman, are at one with us in this. As a proof of this noble house sharing with us this attitude there is the assassination by these dictators of its pillar, the blessed martyr, the Heir Apparent of the Sultanate, the late Prince Yusuf Izz-ed Din, of blessed memory. We not only dissociate ourselves from them, but openly declare our hostility to, and hatred of, them and their ways; and every pious and right-minded Moslem in the Ottoman Empire, as well as in all Moslem lands, cannot but associate himself with us in this, in view of the actual ruin that they have brought upon the land and the incalculable harm that they have caused to the great power of Islam, which has fallen a victim to their selfish aims and ambitions.

"We disavow these men before Allah, and know that

this is the word of truth—on which we live and die. How can we act otherwise, when we have before us instances and examples, which we cite for our Moslem brethren to ponder over? Thus, Jemal Pasha, the autocrat of Syria, ordered the inhabitants of that Moslem country to form amongst their womenfolk a women's society; then intimated that this society should get up a fête in his honour in their club. This was actually done, and he and some of the military and civil officials, together with others of his clique, whom he invited, attended the fête. The Moslem women, members of this society, actually received and honoured these guests; and at the end some of them made speeches, declaimed poems, and sang songs before this crowd of men, as was reported at the time by the different newspapers of Syria with expressions of pride and admiration, to win the favour of the autocrat.

"It will thus be clearly seen what are the designs of these usurpers on the Moslem law and Moslem customs; and this should serve as a warning to our Moslem brethren in Turkey, as well as in other parts of the world, so that they may not lend in any way encouragement to these autocrats in their impious infringement of the laws of Allah and their insolent disregard of His commands, either for worldly fame or for material benefit, because it is idle for a creature to disobey his Creator. And he who is granted a power to put a stop to these sinful acts, either by his hand or tongue or his heart, it is his duty to use this power to that end. And whoever thinks that he can defend the audacity of these usurpers, let him come forward with his argument."

"It must have been with feelings of profound satisfaction," writes Cassamally Jairazbhoy, Vice-President of the Bombay Branch of the Moslem League,¹ "that all Moham-medans read the British announcement in regard to the Holy Places of Arabia, including the Holy Shrines of Mesopotamia and the Forts at Jedda.

¹ *The Suicide of Turkey*, November, 1914.

“ ‘These Holy Places and Jedda,’ it said, ‘will be immune from attack or molestation by the British Naval and Military forces so long as there is no interference with pilgrims from India to the Holy Places and Shrines in question. At the request of His Majesty’s Government, the Governments of France and Russia have given them similar assurances.’

“For that assurance every true Mohammedan should praise God and bless the British Government, for now we know that, so long as England is able to fight, our Holy Places are safe from the sacrilegious hands of those barbarian Germans, who have made the venerable Cathedrals of Belgium and France the particular object of their hatred and violence. What liberty of religion could Islam expect if Germany were to defeat the Allies? The ruins of Louvain and Rheims give the answer—None. It is Germany’s creed that everything must be crushed to make way for German ‘Civilisation.’ Turkey is to-day a mere tool used to serve Germany’s ends. Were those ends to be attained, to-morrow would witness the scornful crushing of Turkey by the Power whose ruler—Kaiser William—boasts that to him an oath is not sacred, and a treaty no more than a scrap of paper to be thrown away or torn up as may be convenient.

“It will be seen from the foregoing how Germany reckoned on stirring up a great Pan-Islamic movement that would prove a source of embarrassment to the British and the French. The result of all their intrigues has been a failure as complete as it is inglorious. In India, above all, Germany hoped to rouse Mohammedans against the Government. But no people have been more sincere than the Mohammedans of this country in their devotion to the British Raj and in their offers of service against the enemy. The message to the Moslem world sent by His Highness the Aga Khan—a great descendant of the great Beni-Fatimite Rulers of Egypt, who himself asked that he might serve in the ranks—still rings in our ears as a clarion call to duty, and as the expression of feelings which we enthusiastically share. . . .

“His Highness said—

“ ‘With deep sorrow I find that the Turkish Government, having joined hands with Germany, acting under German orders, is madly attempting to wage a most unprovoked war against such mighty sovereigns as the King-Emperor and the Tsar of Russia. This is not the true and free will of the Sultan, but of the German officers and other non-Moslems, who have forced him to do their bidding. Germany and Austria have been no disinterested friends of Islam; and, while one took Bosnia, the other has long been plotting to become suzerain of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, including Kerbala, Nejef and Baghdad. If Germany succeeds, which Heaven forbid, Turkey will become only a vassal of Germany, and the Kaiser’s resident will be the real ruler of Turkey and will control the Holy Cities. . . ’

“Turkey was the trustee of Islam, and the whole world was content to let her hold our Holy Cities in her keeping. Now that Turkey has so disastrously shown herself a tool in the German hands, she has not only ruined herself but has lost her position of trustee of Islam and evil will overtake her.”

XV

THE GERMANS AS THEY SEE THEMSELVES AND AS OTHERS HAVE SEEN THEM

It is hoped and believed that, as the war goes on, it is becoming more and more clearly understood throughout the neutral world that the question at stake in the present struggle—incredible as it may seem—is whether the better or the baser instincts of man's nature shall prevail, whether humanity shall continue to proceed on its course towards a higher and yet higher ideal, or shall revert to its condition of many thousands of years ago, when its motives were actuated by nothing but the lower animal passions. By their own acts our adversaries are revealing that this is the true meaning of the struggle.

"No, not Germany's enemies," said the American Professor Royce in a great speech on America's duty, "but Germany herself, her ministers, her submarine commanders, have given us our principal picture of what the militant Germany of the moment is, and of what Germany means for the future of international morality. . . . While the war lasts, and Belgium bleeds and mankind mourns, let us aid the allied enemies of Germany with sympathy, since the cause of the allied enemies of Germany is indeed the cause of mankind. . . . Let us do what we can to bring about at least a rupture of all diplomatic relations between our own Republic and these foes of mankind. . . . If only the neutral nations had awakened at the beginning to the danger which threatened the universe, and had done their duty by assisting to avert it—but the very horror of it made them hold aloof."

It has been argued, and is still argued by some, that the German nation is stricken only with a temporary madness,

but when peace is concluded their minds will become normal, and that if they win, they will, in spite of their present blusterings, make a temperate use of their victories; that they do not seriously contemplate world-dominion. Bernhardt himself has lately thought it wise to lull the fears of the neutrals by encouraging this view in his last work. But let us not be deceived a second time. Was it not generally believed, in this country, as indeed everywhere else, that the doctrines set forth in the volumes from which we have quoted were merely the ravings of pedants or irresponsible atheists until we saw them put into practice in all their ghastliness and saw the "monstrous enter into the reality of life"? It may be that the military party is responsible for the carrying out of these principles, but the military party is now the nation itself. The Emperor has said with pride that the German people is no longer a nation but an army.¹

If any among them are "born to honour" let them show it. How many of them have dared to refuse to murder the wounded or to hurl bombs on innocent women and children at the bidding of their officers? One instance only have I seen recorded, that of a patient in one of the French hospitals who stated that he had been shot in the back by his officer, an Oberlieutenant, for having refused to kill a wounded French Major.²

We know that there are Germans like the socialist Liebknecht and the authors of *J'Accuse*, and *Gerade weil ich Deutscher bin*, who have boldly raised their voices—the first-named in the Reichstag itself—in condemnation of the guilt of their compatriots in the matter of this war, and there may be others who are only deterred by fear from doing so lest they meet with the fate of the

¹"The nation of poets and philosophers transformed into a nation in arms may rely upon the firm resolution to subdue all the enemies of Kultur and of German mentality. God is with us and with our just cause."—(Telegram to the Prussian Diet, February, 1915.)

²The story is told by M. Paul Lordon in the *Petit Journal*, November, 1915. The man gave the name of the German officer and added that the brutality of his officers so disgusted him that "he hated them with all his soul."

Pastor Franck, who was tried for high treason at Stettin for saying that the German sabres are stained with the blood of women and children; or with that of the Luxemburg statesman, M. Emile Prün (Burgomaster of Chevraux and a former Deputy), who was condemned by a German military tribunal to be imprisoned for three years in a cell of one and a half metres by two and a half, for having published and introduced into Germany a book entitled *The Widowhood of Truth*.

Lieb knecht refused to vote for the War Credits. His protest was not allowed by the President to be read in the House; it was communicated to the German newspapers, but none of them dared to publish it. In it he said: "This war is not a defensive war for Germany. Its historical character and the succession of events forbid us to trust in a capitalist Government when it declares it is asking for credits for the defence of the Fatherland. . . . I protest against this war, against those who are responsible for it and those who are conducting it. . . . I protest against the schemes of annexation, against the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, against the military dictatorship, against the complete disregard of social and political duties of which the Government and the dominant classes are again to-day guilty."—(Berlin, December 2, 1914.)

The following appeal was addressed by the German Humanity League to foreign Socialists, and published in the Press:—

"DEAR COMRADES,

"On the eve of a New Year which opens on scenes of foul and ruthless crimes, unparalleled even in the massacre rolls of our nation's infamous accomplices at Constantinople, we appeal to our brethren on the Continent of Europe and in the United States of America, not to hide themselves behind the screen of neutrality.

"We are face to face with the enemies of mankind. The German nation, driven into a wicked war by the Kaiser and his military *entourage*, cajoled by perjured statesmen in the Reichstag and by false records circulated in every

State in order to deceive our compatriots, has recklessly hurled itself blindfolded against forces which, sustained by indisputable moral considerations, show no signs of weakening in their determination to expel from Belgium the troops which have covered her habitations with blood and irreparably injured an innocent nation our rulers had sworn to protect.

"We ask you to remember that the territory of no German State has been menaced by the Allies, who are lawfully and honourably defending the plain rights of the cruelly outraged Belgians.

"Fellow-workers, can you longer remain idle and silent spectators of these stupendous crimes? Are you for ever to be dumb in view of the awful scenes of carnage in Flanders, in Brabant, in Alsace, and in Lorraine? Do you not see, amid the maiming and slaughter of innocent, unarmed old men, women, children and infants at the breast, that the Kaiser has covered our nation with imperishable infamy, and that the toll of war means the sacrifice of the precious lives of toilers and wage-earners in a devilish campaign, barbarous in its methods upon sea as upon land?

"Already in five months our homes, our trade, our enterprises have been maimed for at least fifty years; loss of life and economic devastation will scourge the Fatherland for a century. We know from authentic intelligence which reaches us that a restless, indignant and deceived democracy now undergoing privations and nursing its griefs, cannot be restrained by force from active protest; and we most earnestly appeal to every comrade, who cares for the maintenance of international obligations, to strive his utmost to crush and sweep away for ever the domination of Prussian militarism within Germany, which, by its conspiracy against humanity, has disgraced and humiliated our nation in the eyes of the civilised world.

"KARL BERNSTEIN,
EMIL GOTT,
GUSTAVE OCHS,
FRANZ GAUSEN,

JACOB MAMDISDORF,
CONRAD SCHWABE,
ERNEST SCHUSTER,
ALBRECHT ZETTEL." ¹

¹ *The Morning Post*, December 30, 1914.

But in spite of these considerations and admissions, we cannot but concur with Professor Morgan when he says that "to regard Germany as the misguided pupil of a military caste which alone stands in the way of her reformation seems to him to ignore the volume of evidence as to the complicity of officers and men in these orgies of outrage. . . . For is it reasonable to suppose that the kind of teaching which has made Clausewitz, Treitschke and Bernhardi the gospel of the German people, and has found authoritative expression in the German War Book, could have commanded the prestige which it does command in Germany if it had not found a people apt and eager by temperament to receive it?"¹ Elsewhere Professor Morgan writes: "It is the fondest of delusions to imagine that all this blood-guiltiness is confined to the German Government and the General Staff. The whole people is stained with it. The innumerable diaries of common soldiers in the ranks which I have read betray a common sentiment of hate, rapine and ferocious cruelty. Again and again English soldiers have told me how their German captors delighted to offer them food in their famished state and then to snatch it away again. The progress of French, British and Russian prisoners, civil as well as military, through Germany has been a veritable Calvary. The helplessness which in others would excite forbearance if not pity has in the German populace provoked only derision and insult. The 'old gentleman with a grey beard and gold spectacles,' who broke his umbrella over the back of a Russian lady (the wife of a diplomatist); the loafers who boarded a train and under the eyes of the indulgent sentries poked their fingers in the blind eye of a wounded Irishman who had had half his face shot away; the men and women who spat upon helpless prisoners and threatened them with death; the guards who prodded them with bayonets, worried them with dogs, and despatched those who could not keep up—these were not a Prussian caste, but the German people. What is to be thought of a people, one of whose leading journals publishes with approval the letter of a German officer describing 'the brilliant idea (*ein guter Gedanke*) which

¹ *German Atrocities*, p. 33.

inspired him to place civilians on chairs in the middle of the street of a town attacked by the French and use them as a screen for his men in spite of their 'prayers of anguish.' " ¹

Some of their own most distinguished writers have spoken of their compatriots in far from complimentary terms. "A comparison of the German people with other peoples," says Goethe, "awakens painful feelings from which I have tried to escape by every possible means." ² Heine is more severe: "As to Prussians, Nature has made them stupid and Science has rendered them malicious." ³ Hirschel declares that: "There is no absurdity which a German has not advanced as a theory" ⁴; while Schopenhauer, in his *Memorabilien*, delivers himself as follows: "In anticipation of my death I make this confession, that I despise the German nation on account of its infinite stupidity, and I blush to belong to it." ⁵

And the methods of war employed by the German people in the earlier periods of their history, and the principles which guided their conduct, do not seem to have greatly differed from those which have staggered the world to-day.

"Since they were first heard of in history," says Bernhardi, ⁶ "they have proved themselves to be a nation practising the highest form of civilisation, indeed they are the people civilised *par excellence*—das Kulturvolk κατ' ἐξοχήν."

The Roman and Greek writers do not seem to bear this out. "What," asks Nazarius, "shall I say of the Bructeri, the Chamevi, the Cherusci, the Vangiones, the Alamanni and the Tubantes [German tribes]? . . . The very pronunciation of their names fills us with a sense

¹ *German Atrocities*, pp. 24-25.

² "Conversations with Eckermann," quoted in *Paroles Allemandes*, p. 55.

³ Quoted *ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁶ *Unsere Zukunft*, "Ein Mahnwort an das deutsche Volk," 1912, p. 11.

of horror at the immensity of their barbarism.”¹ Tacitus tells us that all the tribes of their ancestors were wont to meet together in a sacred forest, and “after publicly offering up a human life, they celebrate the grim initiation of their barbarian rites”²; and Procopius, speaking of them at a later period, says that “these barbarians, though they have become Christians, retain most of their ancient creed, immolating human beings and performing other unholy sacrifices by which they predict the future.”³ Ammianus Marcellinus describes them in battle as “rushing forward roaring like wild beasts, their long shaggy hair, while they raged in this inhuman fashion, being lifted in the wind, and their eyes blazing with fury.”⁴ Pomponius Mela speaks of the “innate savagery” of the Germans of his day, and their lust for war and plunder. “With them,” he says, “might is right, so much so that they are not even ashamed to rob and murder.” He adds that they are “kind to their guests⁵ and gentle with suppliants”—but these latter qualities they do not exercise to-day, if we may judge by the fate of those who have fallen into their hands during this war⁶—and

¹ *Paneg.* viii. 18.

² *Germania*, xxxix.

³ *The Gothic Wars*, ii. 25.

⁴ xii. 36.

⁵ Many of the ancient writers testify to this. “The Franks are liars, but they are hospitable,” writes Salvianus (*De gubernatione Dei*, vii. 64). The Franks were a confederation of German tribes.

⁶ The following incident is recorded in *Germany's Great Lie*, pp. 160-1. It concerns the treatment of a British Consul, “who comes of a family famous in our Diplomatic Service at one of the chief sea-ports of Germany. He and his wife and his daughter were invited by one of the chief officials to a friendly dinner. While they were at dinner a man came in with a letter. The official smiled and tossed off a glass of champagne; then he smiled again and tossed off another glass of champagne; then he smiled again and tossed off a third glass. By that time he was thoroughly excited and cried out: ‘Yes, the best of news! War is declared.’ Then he turned to the Consul and his wife and daughter and called them dogs and pigs and reptiles, and rang the bell and sent for soldiers, who dragged them away and spat all over the Consul’s wife. They took them into a filthy room with thieves and

that "they are coarse and uncultured in their way of living."¹

"But this people," wrote Velleius Paterculus, "are savage to a degree almost inconceivable to any one who has not had actual experience of them² and are, withal, a race born to deceit (*natum mendacio genus*)."³ The Goths, Procopius tells us, fearing an attack by the Roman General Belisarius, "thought of obtaining assistance from some of the other barbarians, but they were careful not to call in the Germans, having already had experience of the craft and treachery of that race."⁴

Elsewhere the same writer speaks of the Franks as "of all men the most prone to break faith," and quotes a letter written by Belisarius to Theudibert, reminding him that to break an oath which was embodied in writing—as he had done—was "disgraceful even in the most dishonourable of men."⁵ "If a Frank perjure himself," says Salvianus,

criminals. They left them there for two days without any food or water or sanitary arrangements. Then they dragged them out again and pushed them into a train, still without any food or drink. The train went on and on, until they were bundled out at a station to change trains. The daughter was by this time so exhausted that she was nearly dying. Looking for some one to save her life, she saw a Red Cross nurse attending to some one and implored her to give her a drink of water. The German nurse turned round and called them 'Dogs of English' and said that she would rather die than do it."

¹ *De Situ Orbis*, III. 3.

The original passage runs as follows: "Qui habitant immanes sunt animis atque corporibus, et ad insitam feritatem vaste utraque exercent, bellando animos, corpore adsuetudine labore maxime frigoris. . . . Bella cum finitimis gerunt, causas eorum ex libidine arcessunt, neque imperitandi prolatandique quæ possident, nam ne illa quidem enixe colunt, sed ut circa ipsos quæ jacent vasta sint. Ius in viribus habent, adeo ut ne latrocinii quidem pudeat, tantum hospitibus boni, mitesque supplicibus. Victu ita asperi incultique."

² Or as *The Evening Standard* (December 27, 1915) remarked of its own initiative: "It is only those who really know the German who properly appreciate his craftiness."

³ *Hist. Rom.* II. 118.

⁴ *The Gothic Wars*, ii. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 25.

"it is nothing new to him, seeing that he only looks upon perjury as another form of speech and in no way a crime." ¹

Florus tells of the treachery by which Arminius (Hermann) won his victory over Varus and the atrocities subsequently committed by the German troops: "Never was slaughter more bloody than that which was made of the Romans among the marshes and woods. . . . Of some they gouged out the eyes; of others they cut off the hands; of one the mouth was sewed up after his tongue had been cut out, which, one of the savages, holding in his hand, cried out: 'At last, viper, cease to hiss!'" ² And Tacitus thus describes the visit of Germanicus to the same spot six years later: "Fragments of weapons and limbs of horses were lying about; and there were human heads fixed to the trunks of trees. In groves close by were the barbarian altars on which the Tribunes and Centurions of the first rank had been immolated. And survivors of the disaster . . . told how many gibbets had been set up, and how many pits were dug for the captives. . . . And so, six years after this terrible event, the Roman army, standing on the spot, proceeded with mixed feelings of sorrow and anger and with ever-growing indignation against the enemy, to bury the bones of the three legions." ³

¹ *De gubernatione Dei*, iv. 65.

² iv. 12.

³ *Annals*, i. 61-2. According to the Roman historians, Arminius was invested by the Senate with the title "Amicus" on account of the friendship he professed for the Roman people. But he had long been secretly stirring up some of the German tribes to rebellion. When the Roman General, Varus, decided to march against these tribes, Arminius promised to meet him at Teutoburger Forest and support the attack. But no sooner did Varus arrive than Arminius led a furious assault against the Roman legions and cut them to pieces. Some time later a letter was received by the Roman Senate from one of his followers, Adgandestrius, offering to procure his death if poison were sent for the purpose of the murder, but a reply was given to him to the effect that the Roman people took vengeance on their enemies not by treachery or by any other secret measure, but openly by force of arms. He (Arminius) afterwards betrayed and ravished the daughter of his fellow-countryman Segestes, and himself fell a victim to the treachery of his kinsmen,

"Who would not be indignant," said a Roman General to some of his troops, who wished to enrich themselves with plunder, "if it were said that while we have the name of Romans, we do the deeds of Germans."¹

Gallic, Batavian and German Generals fighting against the Romans are said by Tacitus to have encouraged their respective troops by using the incentives most in keeping with their several characters. The Gauls were urged to fight for freedom, the Batavians for immortal glory, and the Germans for loot.²

It was thanks to their greed for plunder, as is related by Tacitus, that the army of the Roman General, Germanicus, was saved from destruction.³

"It is the greatest glory," says Cæsar, "to the several [German] States to have as wide deserts as possible around them, their frontiers having been laid waste. They consider it to be a distinctive mark of their prowess that their neighbours should be driven out of their lands."⁴

"Robberies," he adds, "which are committed beyond the bounds of the State, are considered no infamy. Indeed, they pretend that such acts are committed for the purpose of disciplining their youth and preventing sloth."⁵

The lust for war of the ancient Germans has been mentioned by many writers. "Their whole life is spent in hunting and in the pursuit of the military art," says Cæsar⁶; and Tacitus states that they carried their arms wherever they went—ever ready, no doubt, to pick a quarrel or fight a duel. The carousals at which they drank their beer often led to brawls. "You will not so readily persuade them to till the land and to wait for the year's

but the Roman historian pays a tribute to his patriotism.—*Annals*, i. 58 and ii. 88. He is Germany's great hero to this day, and a colossal statue has been raised to him on the spot where his treachery against the Roman legions was consummated.

¹ Dion Cassius, *Roman History*, xii. 30-31.

² *Hist.* iv. 78.

³ *Annals*, i. 65.

⁴ *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 23. Compare the final words of the "Hymn of Hate," quoted above, p. 138, "Transform the neighbouring countries into deserts."

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 21.

harvests as to challenge an enemy and earn themselves wounds. It seems to them to show a want of energy to get with the sweating of your brow what you can obtain by the shedding of your blood.”¹

Another writer speaks of the “eternal hatred, the inexpiable fury of this race” (*illius gentis odia perpetua et inexpiables iræ*).²

Their expedients in preparing for war were no less similar to those of the present day than were their methods of conducting it. “The German carefully prepared all the details of his aggression. Ariovistus, before going to war with Cæsar, had solicited and obtained at Rome the title of *The Ally of the Roman People*. Arminius, the conqueror of Varus at Teutoburg, resided for a long time at Rome and made friends there whilst he was studying the tactics and organisation of his future adversaries, and had been invested with the dignity of a Roman knight. A treaty, made by Marcus Aurelius with the Quadi, provides that they must close the frontier of the Empire against the Marcomanni, a German confederation north of the Danube, because, as the treaty says, ‘the Germans who enter upon Roman territory on the pretext of trading there come solely for the purpose of spying.’ ”³ . . .

“In view of our pillaged and devastated dwellings,” writes M. Flavien Brenier,⁴ “of our civil population carried away into captivity, our towns bombarded and burnt when

¹ *Germania*, xiv. See also *Annals*, xiii. 57. They carried their arms with them to their graves and continued their battles in Walhalla.

German is by some believed to be equivalent to *warman* or *warrior* (cf. French *guerre*). The French expression “une querelle d’allemand” is used idiomatically of a groundless quarrel.

Masks, representing the warlike features of the Germans, were made by the Romans of pottery and used for frightening children. Their huge stature made them “terrible to look at” (*Annals*, ii. 14). Their great prototype, King Teutoboch, was accustomed to bestride four and even six horses at a time (*Florus*, iii. 4).

² Quoted by Zeller, *Origines de l’Allemagne*, 1872, p. 221.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁴ *Le Vieux Dieu Allemand*, p. 36.

the enemy is compelled to evacuate them, it is worth re-reading this passage of an old Latin author: 'The barbarians who forced their way across the Rhine loaded their carts with plate, with clothing and stolen carpets and carried the population into slavery that they might use them for their own purposes, and they burnt all the houses that they could not inhabit.'"¹

The Roman view of the German character is summed up by Zeller as follows: "There is no such thing as a lasting treaty with these barbarians. They dethrone the kings which are given them and set up others in their places; they receive money or lands from their enemies or even their own allies as the price of peace, and immediately afterwards break that peace; Marcus Aurelius had not the time to have a medal struck announcing to the world the conclusion of a permanent peace with the Germans before it was violated by them.

"The Germans never take service in the Roman armies except for the purpose of learning how to fight them; they never go to carry on trade in the Roman provinces except for the purpose of spying; they never swear an oath to the Romans without the intention of breaking it; they never sign a peace except with the object of preparing for war; they make no use of money paid them except to procure arms with it; they accept a footing in the Empire only that they may be in a better position to lay it waste. For them there is no promise given to the enemy outside the frontier that binds, no engagement, no moral or international law such as was respected by the nations of classical antiquity even in time of war. Against his

¹ *Origines de l'Allemagne*, p. 270. "The authentic accounts of excesses committed during the war of 1870 alone would fill a library. 'For many Germans,' wrote Nietzsche, 'this was a voyage into a more elegant hemisphere.' The armies were 'followed by wagons heaped full of our furniture, our pictures, the treasures of our homes, which became articles of commerce. This war had the character of the invasions of antiquity.'—General Ambert (*Récits militaires*, vol. ii. p. 56), quoted by Charles Andler in *Frightfulness in Theory and Practice*, English translation (Fisher Unwin), p. 37.

neighbour, who is also his enemy, the German considers everything to be lawful. He can commit no crime (*nullam infamiam*). Might with him is right.”¹

“A German historian,” writes Mr. J. M. Robertson, “of the downfall of the Mediterranean civilisation has made a collection of Greek and Roman testimonies² which leaves nothing to be desired in point of completeness. ‘German faithlessness became almost proverbial with the Romans.’³ ‘The habit of the Franks was with smiling mouth to break their pledged faith’⁴; they were ‘that shifty and treacherous barbarian people.’ To break the peace and break the pact: to break a treaty as soon as it was made—these are the practices of the Germanic peoples in their dealings with the Romans. For Procopius the Franks were ‘the most faithless people in the world’; and for Velleius Paterculus they were ‘a race of born liars.’ And even among the Germans themselves there was no valid pledge without an oath—*ohne Eid keine Verpflichtung*.⁵

“Following the minute account of Felix Dahn,⁶ an able Austrian critic of the race-gospel has shown that in every section of the Teutonic invaders of the South after the fall of the Roman Empire the standard of honour of the leaders and kings was on a par with that of Dahomey, and their familiar crimes an anticipation of those of the mediæval Turks. Fratricide and parricide and filicide, murders of women as of men, are the constant notes of the regal history⁷; and the upper class life of Franks and

¹ *Origines de l'Allemagne*, p. 194. The principal references are to Nazarius, *Paneg. Vit.*; Eumenius; Eutropius; Julius Capitolinus; Amm. Marcellinus.

² O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 1895.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 189.

⁴ “Quibus familiare est ridendo fidem frangere” (Flavius Vopiscus in *Proculo*).

⁵ Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, i. 181-2.

⁶ *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, 4 Bde. 1881-1889.

⁷ The reader need only cast a glance at Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum* to satisfy himself that there is no exaggeration in this statement.

Langobards, Goths and Vandals, is on the same level of treachery, debauchery and savagery.”¹

As to the German soldier of the Middle Ages, we have the testimony of Froissart, in the following account of the coming to Paris of the Constable of France, who had just defeated the English. “He came,” says Froissart, “accompanied by the Lord de Clisson and bringing with them the greater part of the prisoners, to whom they behaved very handsomely, allowing them to go at large on their parole for their ransom. They neither shut them up in prison nor put on shackles and fetters, as the Germans do in order to obtain a heavier ransom. Curses on them for it. These people are without pity or honour, and they ought never to receive quarters. The French entertained their prisoners well, and ransomed them courteously without being too hard with them.”² This was in 1370.

Botta, in his history of the American War of Independence, speaking of the brutality of the German mercenary troops in the British army, says—

“The Hessians, as if they believed themselves released from all respect for humanity and justice, knew no other mode of making war but that of carrying devastation into the midst of all the property, public and private, of their adversaries. It was affirmed that this rapacious soldiery had so burdened themselves with booty as to become almost incapable of service. . . . It was a terrible and lamentable spectacle to behold these fertile fields covered with ashes and with ruins. Friends and foes, Republicans and Loyalists, all shared a common fate; wives and daughters suffered violence in their homes and even before the eyes of their husbands and fathers; many fled into the forests, but could find no refuge even there from the brutal rage of these barbarians who pursued them. The houses were either burnt or demolished; the cattle either driven off or killed; nothing escaped their thirst for devastation. The Hessian General Heister, far from endeavour-

¹ *The Germans*, by the Right Hon. J. M. Robertson, M.P., 1916, pp. 98-9.

² Froissart's *Chronicles*, chapter ccxcii. Translation by Thomas Johnes, 1812.

ing to repress this licentious soldiery, seemed to have given them a free rein. The English General wished, but had not the power, to curb them." ¹

With reference to the wars of 1814-1815 Andler writes—

"Let us recall the fifteen Frenchmen who at Bautzen (on a day of bloody victory), being surprised within a house, demanded quarter on their knees. The infuriated Prussians flung them living from the windows, and when the survivors cried out in their agony, their skulls were broken by blows from the butt-end of rifles. At Leipzig, in the houses, a host of Frenchmen who had thrown down their arms were massacred. After Waterloo the Prussians of Gneisenau's command slaughtered disarmed Frenchmen by whole battalions. . . ." ²

The philosopher, Steffens, officer of the *Landwehr* in 1814, saw them at work during a whole winter. He saw "incendiarism almost everywhere, magnificent villages pilaged. . . ." ³ Similar stories are told of their conduct during the Franco-Prussian War, but it is unnecessary to multiply them. They may be read in Andler ⁴ and in other writers, and their habitual contempt for treaties may be studied throughout their history.

An instance of *Kultur* at home is given by Hans Pommer—

"I have myself assisted, and more than once, at scenes of Vandalism which would defy all description. During a farewell dinner offered by the officers of the camp at Elserhorn to a division of cavalry I was the eyewitness of a mad frenzy which resulted not only in the destruction of all the plate, but the statues, tables and chairs of the hall where the banquet was held, and a prince of the blood was amongst them. We must confess that the varnish of civilisation has only very thinly covered the high ranks of our society. The least excess in the consumption of alcoholic drinks is sufficient to transform into veritable

¹ *Storia de la Guerra Americana*, Botta. Translation by G. A. Otis, 1826.

² *Frightfulness*, English translation, p. 32.

³ *Was Ich Erlebte*, 1843, vol. viii. pp. 35, 37, 41, 43 and *passim*.

⁴ *Frightfulness*, chap. iii.

barbarians the representatives of one of the human races most proud in the consciousness of their superiority, and barbarians who, far from feeling any regret for the disgraceful exploits that follow on the consumption, are proud of them. Try to imagine the terrible impression that must be produced by the spectacle of this horde giving themselves up without any kind of restraint to this 'furor Teutonicus'; and the eyewitnesses of such a scene will undoubtedly recount it to their comrades, so that such a drama as this, where the actors are civilised men turned into savages, will not remain hidden within the four walls surrounding a meeting of officers. Surely it is fully time that among German officers an end should be put to the passion for drinking, and in particular that the ardour of such a passion should cease to be honoured as the noblest of manly virtues." ¹

The reader will find a detailed arraignment of the inner life of the Germans in a volume of 260 pages by Henry de Halsalle.² We will content ourselves with extracting from it the following comparative statistics of the worst forms of crime committed in Germany and England during a period of ten years.

	Germany 1897-1907	England 1900-10
Murder	350	97
Incest	573	56
Rapes	9,381	216
Unnatural Crimes	841	290
Malicious and Felonious Wounding . .	172,153	1,262
Malicious Damage to Property . .	25,759	358
Arson	610	278
	<hr/> 209 667 <hr/>	<hr/> 2,557 <hr/>

¹ *Zwanzig Jahre als Infanterieoffizier in den Reichslanden*, Frankfort, 1914 (*L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens*, p. 145).

References to the intemperate habits of the Germans are to be found in ancient Greek and Latin writers, as well as in later historians. Tacitus remarks, in *Germania* (XXII.), that to continue drinking day and night is a reproach to none of them ("Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum").

² *Degenerate Germany*.

In a leaflet published in the United States, Mr. George L. Fox, Principal of the University's School, Newhaven, Connecticut, makes the following comparison of crime in the same countries:—

"The population of Germany is to that of England as 5 to 3. As to crime, the proportion of bigamy is 1 to 2 nearly; in incest about 13 to 1; in procuring it is 264 to 1; in procuring abortions it is 29 to 1; in unnatural offences it is 7 to 1; in rape and other sexual crimes it is about 9 to 1; in murder, manslaughter and other death-causing crimes it is 5 to 1; in arson it is about 4 to 1. With regard to divorces it is 22 to 1. As to illegitimate births it is 5 to 1. The number of suicides is four times as great as in England."

Such are the *facts* about German *Kultur*. It may interest the reader to compare them with other pretensions of German writers similar to that of Bernhardi quoted above.

"We have entered into the war with joyful and pure hearts permeated with the aspirations of our national future. That future we will fill with the blossoms of our culture; it is assured to us by the desire that inspires and haunts all Germans to raise the world to full nobleness and perfection."¹

"In the hour of Germany's victory all people will realise that the German *Kultur* is the highest and most indispensable part of universal culture."²

"Germany must, and desires, to remain alone. The Germans are the elect people of the earth. They will accomplish their destiny, which is to rule the world and to guide the other nations for the happiness of humanity."³

"We would see every monument, every picture, utterly destroyed rather than that the glorious work given to the German race should be hindered by so much as one hour's avoidable delay. The world can be revitalised, society

¹ Lamprecht.

² O. Gierke, quoted in the *Revue de Paris*, March 15, 1915, p. 286.

³ Professor von Seyden in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

ennobled and refined only through the German spirit. The world must, for its own salvation, be Germanised.”¹

“We, in Germany, have the firm conviction that it is not for our own independence alone that we are fighting in this war, but for the preservation of the culture and freedom of all peoples.”²

“A European plot of lies and calumnies has been woven around us; for our part we are true; our characteristics are humanity, gentleness, conscientiousness, the Christian virtues. In a world of wickedness we represent love, and God is with us.”³

“The Southern peoples are children of the moment; the Teutonic live in the things which lie beyond the world, in the infinite and the ineffable.”⁴ (One wishes they could remain there!)

“Our German people will be the granite-block on which the good God may complete His work of civilising the world. Then will be realised the word of the poet who said: ‘The world will one day be cured by the German character.’ ”⁵

The hordes which overran Europe in earlier days at least made no such pretences as these. They were guided by their instincts, and in some cases they were endowed with qualities destined to bring light out of the very

¹ From the *Kreuzzeitung*; quoted in *A Textbook of the War for Americans*. We constantly read in the German press such expressions as “The Kingdom of Heaven is centred in the German soul” (*Berliner Post*).

² Professor Delbrück in *Germany's Answer*. “This is more than the world asks at the Kaiser's hand,” remarks the American essayist, Miss Agnes Repplier. “Most nations prefer to look after their own culture and freedom in the fashion which suits them best. And if the present condition of Belgium, starved, outraged, broken on the wheel, is a sample of the culture and freedom which are Germany's gifts, we Americans pray heaven to preserve us in ignorance and slavery.”—*A Textbook of the War for Americans*, p. 263.

³ Professor Lasson. Letter published in the *Amsterdammer*, a Dutch weekly review, October 11, 1914.

⁴ Professor Münsterburg, in his *Textbook of Psychology*.

⁵ The Kaiser in a speech at Münster, August 31, 1907.

darkness in which they temporarily enveloped the areas they invaded; but these people openly and consciously present us with a gospel of dirt which they say it is their mission to spread over the universe.

There is one virtue which no one will deny the German people. They are eminently thorough in everything they do. A remarkable instance of this is noted by the American Professor Weeks, with reference to their preparations for the present war. "The German military authorities," he remarks, "even foresaw the need of denying atrocities, as is evinced by a manual called *The Military Interpreter*, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1906; publisher, A. Bath. The author is Captain von Scharfenort, an official of the Military Department. The manual, among many useful formulæ, offers a model letter of protest against an accusation of atrocities. This suggestive document is entitled, *Letter to the Commander-in-Chief of the Hostile Army*, and commences thus:—

"In a circular letter of the Minister of Foreign Affairs you have reproached the German troops with numerous violations of international custom.

"According to you, German troops have been guilty of acts of hostility against ambulances; they are said to have made prisoner, M. A., in the midst of an ambulance corps organised by him; they are accused of having made use of explosive bullets, of having compelled peasants in the vicinity of S. to dig trenches under fire; they are accused of having attempted to transport provision and munition trains and caissons by protecting them with the conventional sign of Geneva; finally, a physician who was caring for a wounded Prussian soldier is said to have been killed by him. . . .

"Out of regard for the Powers which adhered to the Convention of Geneva and the declaration of St. Petersburg of November 29 (11th December), 1868, I add here and I affirm that the said-mentioned Convention has been observed by the German troops in the most scrupulous manner,' etc."

"Yes," Professor Weeks adds, "the German military

authorities foresaw everything—except that some of their soldiers' diaries would be captured." ¹

It is barely conceivable that any one should wish to belong to a nation which must well-nigh hold the record for crime, and whose political system avowedly inculcates blind obedience to a State which recognises no moral law. On the contrary, it is not surprising that large numbers of German citizens quit their Fatherland to become the subjects of foreign Powers. In the year 1913, 412 Germans obtained certificates of naturalisation in Great Britain alone, apart from the colonies, as against 30 Frenchmen and 13 Italians. That the Germans in London are content under the Government of their adopted country is proved by the following address which was presented to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee in 1897, by representatives of German churches, institutions and societies domiciled in London—

"We are deeply grateful that, during the sixty years which have elapsed since Your Majesty's accession to the Throne, Germans residing in Great Britain have been able to follow their occupations in absolute freedom and in friendly intercourse with all classes, under the care of Your Majesty's Government and protected by the laws of the land."

"One of the most curious things to be noted," writes an American, "in a general survey of the world, is that among all the millions of Germans who have left the Fatherland since 1848 for this country so very few of them ever go back to Germany. . . . The Germans in America are among the best, sanest and most valuable of our citizens, but the Germans are of all people the least tenacious of their nationality. In this country, the English, Scotch, and even the Irish speak of 'home' for generations. The Scandinavians charter ships to go 'home' to spend their Christmas; numbers of them who prosper go back to pass their old age. The Slavs go back by thousands, and have carried the English language

¹ Professor Raymond Weeks of Columbia University quoted in *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, p. 104.

with them, so much so that in one case an election for the Reichsrath in Austria was conducted in that language. The Italians go back by tens of thousands, and you can hardly find a town in Italy in which some one is not living in a little vineyard, or *villino*, who made his money in America. But, as I have said, the Germans practically never go back. They become Americans, just as they become Australians in Australia, where they are now supporting their new country against the old; or they become Brazilians, Chilians, Central Americans, even Haitians, and their chocolate-coloured children are outside the German culture entirely.”¹

With reference to the present crisis another American writes: “If the German-Americans are consumed with love for their Fatherland, and for their Fatherland alone, why, we wonder, did they not stay upon that sacred soil? This pleasure and privilege might have been theirs without the asking, and they resigned it as alacritously as though paternal rule and military service found no favour in their eyes. Why, when they came to the United States, did they not remain German citizens, and liable to be summoned to their country’s aid, instead of hastening to swear all allegiance to a Constitution which they regard only as a convenience and a protection and inferior to their own? Why, when the declaration of war found them in Munich or Frankfort or Berlin did they scuttle home as fast as ships could carry them, clamorously declaring themselves

¹ Frederick W. Whitridge, *One American’s Opinion of the European War*, pp. 16, 17.

The same writer remarks: “In a large acquaintance, I have heard of only one instance where a German, who had prospered, returned to pass his old age at home. That was the case of a brewer who had made a few hundred thousand dollars and then built for himself a house in the German district whence he had emigrated, such as his boyhood’s fancy had pictured he would have in his old age, and into that house he moved to end his days. At the end of two months he locked the front door, and said, ‘By God! I can’t stand it another minute,’ and came back to his place in the Middle West. He did not like what he thought was the continual interference and meddling in his private affairs.”

American citizens in Germany, and singing the *Wacht am Rhein* with ever-increasing fervour as they neared the friendly shores of New York? Why, instead of forming political parties to 'support all endeavours in the interests of Germanism'—which is a denial of neutrality and citizenship—do they not go bravely back and strike one honest blow in open battle for their imperilled Fatherland?

"The trenches of Flanders and the snowfields of Poland await these loyal sons of Germany, and, while many dry eyes will witness their departure, we owe and give unfaltering respect to men gallant enough to lay down their lives for their country."¹

When, some years ago, the writer complimented a gentleman whom he believed to be a German residing in Austria on his fluency in English, he quickly replied: "But I am an Englishman. I and my son gave up our German nationality that we might become free men. We have found freedom and justice in England." It is the Englishman's love of freedom and of justice, no less than his sense of duty and of honour that brought him in 1914, as they have often brought him before, to the assistance of a people wantonly attacked by a stronger nation. His bearing with regard to this war has been so well described by a French writer in the *Revue de Paris*,² that we cannot refrain from translating him at length.

"The Germans," he says, "had no conception that a nation could be unwilling to arm itself for war, and yet decide to do so from duty. They supposed that this nation would contemplate without moving the invasion of Flanders, the defeat of France and Russia, and the enslavement of the small neutral States—after which, when its turn came, it would be too late to offer resistance. But by the irony of events, and to the stupefaction of the Germans, England's moral sense brought her, still ignorant

¹Miss Repplier, quoted in *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, pp. 248-9.

²November 1, 1915.

of the hate and jealousy with which she was regarded, into the struggle, wherein her only blame was that she was not prepared for it. She is now appealing to millions of her young men, from whom she will raise an army of volunteers of a continental order, thereby uniting the country in a determination, which is ever becoming stronger, to resist and conquer the enemy, and to repair as speedily as possible the errors of the past.

"England was innocent of the war, and she went into it in innocence of its character. She had never fought against Germany, and had no idea of German methods of war. War for her was a noble pastime, dangerous but seductive, in which that nation must win whose men are the best, not the most intellectual or the most educated, nor even the best armed, but the finest, the healthiest, the hardiest, the most capable, behind their good humour, of patient energy, of loyalty to their duty, and perseverance in their efforts.

"English education had never ceased to produce these men—men whom Kipling describes—in all grades of society; the nation regarded them as models of the human race peculiar to England. They constituted her peculiar virtue which had always ended by saving her from the most desperate crises. In these men lived the old idea of chivalry of Christian and Western origin, which the national literature of the nineteenth century revived, which a Carlyle, a Ruskin, a Kingsley and a Tennyson have taught and sung, adapting it to the wants of a modern industrial century—the noble English and French spirit, at which the Germans have scoffed. . . . The cavalier in the England of to-day has another name, the moral sense and prestige of which are very strong—the gentleman—and the essentially Christian character of the term survives. In its modern form it is the recognised model, the ideal type after which the nation, as such, loves to practise the virtues—strength accompanied by a sense of proportion, modesty in action as in expression, a silent subordination of selfish instincts and greedy ambition to a desire for truth and justice. At the side of France, in whom there

lives a very similar ideal, derived from the same source, but devoid of the peculiar character with which the Protestant faith imbues it, and tainted with rationalism, and in opposition to Germany, whom she knew to be aggressive, but whom she did not yet know to be the apostle of might and instinct, and the champion of the demoniacal creed of Nietzsche and the relics of Teuton paganism, England appeared as the nation of Christians and gentlemen who could only carry on the war as such. Even now they pray in all their churches for the enemy. She is also the nation of sportsmen in the almost wholly moral sense in which this word has been used for the last fifteen or twenty years—sportsmen determined to *play the game*, that is, to play it fairly, without any blind hatred, and without allowing the desire to win to interfere with the respect for the rules, or even the respect for the adversary, whom they considered worthy of them, and whose hand they would be ready to shake when the struggle was over, whether he won or lost. In spite of the feverish excitement which prevailed at the time of the war in the Transvaal . . . permission was given, two years after the submission of the Boers, for the erection of a statue to President Krüger at Pretoria; and it is in keeping with the same spirit that a new Dreadnought was christened with the name of Botha—while the Germans were confident of the success of the revolt they had fomented, as though the Transvaal were a Prussian Poland or an Alsace-Lorraine.

“Such were the illusions and such the feelings of England, when she entered the lists. An English volunteer said to me: ‘We thought we were starting a rough game of football,’ an expression which seems curious to us, but perfectly natural the other side of the Channel. . . . To-day, England recognises that a war with Germany is not a game of football. She has now learnt the meaning of the word ‘enemy,’ and that the present enemy in particular is not only an adversary, but an adversary who hates and intends to destroy, with little regard for the means. She is astonished at her own simplicity of the earlier days,

which, like other points of weakness, was only a mark of her failure to adapt herself to circumstances, proving once more the slowness of this country to change its habits and its tendencies in such a way as to meet the changes outside.

"At the beginning she fought against a people who tore up treaties and burned and massacred in cold blood, as she fought at the battle of Fontenoy. . . . Moved by scruples and a feeling of generosity, she delayed for several months to declare certain things contraband of war, thereby allowing her enemy to accumulate fresh resources, which may enable her to carry on the hostilities indefinitely. She allowed thousands of Germans to move about at their pleasure in the country, without even placing them under supervision. She restored his sword with compliments to the Commander of the *Emden*, who had committed unquestionable acts of piracy. Almost a national funeral was given to the officers of the *Blücher* who died in captivity. At Oxford the zeal was carried still further. In the sanctuary of Christ Church, commemorative tablets were set up in honour of former Cecil Rhodes Foundation Scholars of German nationality who died fighting against England, and whose names, thus recorded in the heart of the ancient University, will be perpetuated side by side with those of distinguished Englishmen. Care was even taken to mention on the marble the numbers of their Prussian or Bavarian regiments. The country seat of Donington Hall was set aside for the enemy's officers, who had been taken prisoners, the preparation of which required a special credit of 500,000 francs; and there these gentlemen, clad in new suits of flannel or tweed, played at tennis, took their tea on beautiful lawns and had a servant for every three of them. . . .

"But extraordinary news began to arrive from Belgium and then from France—stories of plunder and systematic massacres. Horrifying details of them were published in the newspapers. But a public taught by its education to respect good sense and the principles of law; readers accustomed to order, moderation, and to the traditional wisdom of Great Britain;—in a word, the moral, refined

Englishman, loath to credit anything of which he has not actual experience, was scarcely able to conceive the idea of the *monstrous* entering into the reality of life. In this old country, thoroughly imbued with the principles of civilisation, so complete a subversion of these principles was unthinkable. . . . The newspaper correspondents, it was argued, must be exaggerating. The Germans were known in England; that these peaceable consumers of lager-beer, these level-headed clerks and traders, devoid of humour and glued to their desks, could one day at a distance of fifty leagues from London, conduct themselves like Kipling's Dacoits, appeared improbable. . . . The monstrous unimaginable truth only began to force itself upon the masses after the arrival of the first letters from English officers—English gentlemen who knew 'what is evidence,' and of the truth of whose statements there could thus be no doubt, and the return of the first wounded with their stories to England, and the publication one by one of the reports of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry. . . . Little by little a full sense of the German crime against humanity penetrated the public mind, and with it the feeling of horror which may to-day be regarded as the principal and indestructible factor in the English determination to conquer."

The writer proceeds to enumerate the various forms of frightfulness, by the exhibition of which the German "gorilla" only succeeded in producing amusement in the English mind, or adding a stimulus to recruiting, and concludes in the following words: "For the great mass of the people, who are unable even to *imagine* the appearance of the German on English soil, it is not a question of saving the country, nor even of struggling for a democratic ideal of justice and liberty as against the usurping principles of autocracy, but of fighting against evil, against the powers of sin and crime, against Satan, the enemy of God and man, the dragon with whom the knights of old went forth to do battle. . . . This idea, which German presumption and hate have done so much to arouse, is accompanied not by corresponding feelings of hate, but by one of

abomination, an idea and a feeling, which, being of a religious order, are endowed with an infinite vitality. This is the reason why to-day every Englishman, whether he speaks it aloud or not, understands that the present struggle *is a fight to a finish*. In vain, Germany, having failed in her object, makes periodical attempts to discuss terms of peace. The moral Powers, which she has herself brought into being, will not be appeased. Experience has taught the world that she does not consider herself bound by a treaty—and in the history of the war nothing has more *shocked* the English conscience; that, therefore, there is no possibility of treating or living with her, and that only two things remain, either to crush her power for ever, or perish. In England this belief, once conceived and diffused throughout the country, will endure indefinitely. The war will one day come to an end, but England will never forget.”

XVI

THE DANGERS OF A PREMATURE PEACE

AND is it right that we should forget? The proprietors of the French journal *Le Matin* presented a bronze statue of Miss Cavell to the "Ville de Paris," to be placed in some public spot, in order, as they said, "que la perpétuité du souvenir de ce meurtre infâme soit l'éternel châtiment de ses auteurs," and it will be well if monuments are raised in this country also to the Martyrs of German barbarism, lest posterity forget. But to have taken means to keep thus vividly before the eyes of future generations the cataclysm with which Europe was threatened at the beginning of this century, will not acquit us of the duty we owe them. We must make it as impossible as in us lies that they shall not be exposed to a similar—or a greater—danger. We shall be guilty of an unpardonable crime if we allow nothing better to issue from the appalling sacrifices, which this generation is making, than a halting peace. The peace which Germany wants is an armistice to enable her to recruit her forces and perfect her new methods of warfare and return to the attack on humanity with perhaps better chances of success. Peace to-day means another war to-morrow. Her generals, professors and publicists avow it.

"If the victory is only half won, they [Germany's enemies] would have to expect continuous renewals of the contest, which would be contrary to their interests."¹

"When peace shall be restored no German who respects himself will ever be able to live under the same roof with an Englishman. There can be no compromise as to this matter. We must swear a national vendetta against the

¹ Bernhardt, *Germany and the Next War*, p. 153.

English, and never rest, never cease our preparations for another war, and neglect no effort until we shall have destroyed to all eternity the last traces of English power.¹

"Even if the war does not end as we hope it will . . . we shall be hated by the whole of Europe. . . . We shall not, in future, be able to allow any period of youth to pass without military instruction. Education in war must begin from the tenderest age."²

"We of the educated classes are perhaps not so confident. . . . Naturally we do not count any longer on crushing the enemy. . . . But I am strongly of opinion that with a little more courage, and with the help of that diplomatic skill which has occasionally failed us, we may hope to obtain that honourable peace—*cette paix blanche*—which will assure to Germany the glory of having kept the whole world in check, consolidate her prestige in Europe, and enable her in the next twenty years, after she has repaired the breaches, to establish her sway (*Herrschaft*)."³

Count Ernst zu Reventlow declares in the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*⁴ that "unless Germany keeps the Belgian coast and turns Zeebrugge into another Wilhelmshaven, pointed at Great Britain's heart," no peace terms will please him.

One and all we desire nothing more than to see the end of this nightmare, but any one who, in this or the Allied Countries, raises his voice to support the conclusion of peace on conditions other than such as would make it impossible for the Central Powers to renew their attempts to subjugate the world, to Germanise it and trample it under the heel of a military despotism—in other words, any one who advocates a "peace without victory," is either wholly incapable

¹ Professor von Seyden in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.—*Paroles Allemandes*, p. 73.

² *Die Kreuzzeitung*, quoted by a writer in the *Figaro* (23rd June, 1915) who adds: "Such is the ideal which Germany pictures to herself. Nothing but militarism, pure and simple; unweaned infants in helmets."

³ From a letter found on a German officer, quoted by the *Figaro*.

⁴ December 1, 1916.

of realising the issues at stake or he is the enemy's accomplice. Unconsciously or consciously he is working for his own damnation, and what is worse, for the damnation of those who come after. You, who are ready to make a truce with Germany, while her power for evil is still unbroken, and who would give her time and opportunity to forge new weapons by which she may invade this island, what will be your feelings when *your* homes are laid in ruins, when *your* wives and daughters—yes, British women and girls—are thrown, like those of France and Belgium, to the Kaiser's soldiers as "their reward"¹; when at last you realise the appalling character of the atrocities and bestialities which the troops of this "cultured nation" have perpetrated on the Continent? The men who torpedo hospital ships and fire on Red Cross ambulances will not deal tenderly with us. The bitter hatred which they nourish towards our nation, because we intervened in time to frustrate their plans, is expressed daily in terms of grossest abuse.

"Hatred causes blindness," writes Dr. von Campe-Hildesheim, of the Reichstag, in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, "so does powerful light, and the more powerful and purer it is the more it blinds. Justice, too, is blind. That is to say, she regards not the person but the cause. So it is with our hatred of England.

"It is blind and therefore pure and holy. . . . Then let us not be ashamed of this hatred, but glory in it, imbue our families, our sons and daughters with it, for it is holy and pure, and will in the end burn up in its incandescent intensity every particle of that vile concoction of depravity, selfishness, greed, malice and mendacity which constitutes the armour of Albion.

"Therefore hatred must be our present cult, and it shall yet forge for us weapons unheard-of to smite and crush the foe against whom it is directed."²

The following letter was received by an English professional man from a German now in Hamburg, who lived

¹ See below, p. 307.

² Quoted in the *Daily Express*, August 21, 1916.

for some years in England on terms of close friendship with him:—

. . . . "The history of the last half-century absolutely proves that all hope for the future of Europe lies in the hands of my country. Russia is Asiatic and barbarous. France and the other Latin countries are decadent. England is mean-souled and trivial. Only Germany realises the possibilities of to-morrow, and only Germany is capable of protecting civilisation from the future inevitable onslaughts from the east. Germany's amazing progress has awakened the enmity of her neighbours, and it was that envy and enmity that made this war inevitable.

"There was no reason for Great Britain's interference. Your statesmen professed lip-friendship to us. Up to the last moment Sir Edward Grey led us to believe that Great Britain would remain neutral. Then when we were embroiled with both Russia and France you sided with our enemies.

"Never in the history of the world has a nation made war for a meaner cause, and the hatred that we have for Great Britain is the hatred that a nation of idealists naturally feels for unscrupulous pettifogging hucksters. The crime deserves an adequate punishment. Germany is fighting for her life, and it is idle to suppose that she will fight in kid gloves. She is more than justified in using all the means devised by the ingenuity of her sons to compass the ruin of her foes. Your denunciation of our 'barbarities' leaves us entirely unaffected. We rejoice at the killing of every single Englishman and at the loss of every British ship. We remain cold if a few women and children are killed by our air attacks on your cities. This is a war to the knife, nation against nation, and it can only end in the destruction of the race that has for centuries been the pirate of the world.

"If you and I were to meet, friends as we were once, I would not raise my little finger to save your life, and indeed I would do my utmost to cause you to lose it, because, as I have said, you are an Englishman. . . .

"May you all perish in misery.—C. von S———" ¹

¹ This letter was published in the *Daily Express*.

These are no idle threats. I verily believe that if Germany ever set foot in England, horrors would be enacted there that would sicken a Nero.¹ How will you fare, how will those who come after you fare, when there is no law but the Kaiser's law, the law of blood and iron throughout our land? "It is unthinkable," you say. But it is not unthinkable. Already our insular position does not give us the same security as of old. Who knows against what combination of circumstances, what new engines of war, we may not have to contend another time? We have allowed ourselves to be taken in once, and this time, as we may hope, an indulgent Providence—and, nothing shows more clearly that there is a Providence—is willing to save us from destruction if we will but take heed. Should we defy that Providence, and let ourselves be fooled again, we shall deserve the fate that will assuredly overtake us, though it be a worse fate than that of Belgium or Serbia. A bully, merely rebuked and temporarily foiled, is ever nourishing thoughts of revenge and watching his opportunity. You are prepared to make another treaty with Germany and trust her to abide by it! How can we make any more treaties with her without some sure means of enforcing their execution, when all her great "Intellectuals" have declared that treaties may be torn up at the convenience of the State, that they should be broken on principle, and her chief statesmen have called them "scraps of paper," when in fact they have been so torn up scores of times? A treaty is no more holy in their eyes than a cathedral or a woman's honour. We might as well sign a convention with the leaders of a band of Thugs and *trust* them never to make war on mankind again. Peace to-day would

¹ Since writing the above words I see that Mr. Gustave C. Roeder, a member of the staff of the *New York World*, reports that he heard the following statement made in Germany: "You talk about the atrocities in Belgium committed by German soldiers; whatever was committed in Belgium cannot be called Barbarism on the part of the German army; but once let us get into England, and there will be no way of holding back our soldiers; and no doubt the world will hear of atrocities being committed such as are unknown to-day."—Sir Theodore A. Cook, *The Mark of the Beast*, 1917, pp. 300-1.

necessitate continued preparations for another war. It would mean a renewal of rivalry in armaments, increased war budgets, fresh intrigues in India and Egypt. The German credit of fifty millions brought about the three years' service law in France. Our thoughts would be for ever fixed on war, nor would a treaty signed with Germany to-day prevent her from making preparations to land a million men on our shores, when she could take us unawares in the midst of the peace we had given her, without any declaration of hostility. Therefore, we can only make peace with her when we are able, at the same time, to render it impossible for her to break that peace. There is no alternative to this, and the only means by which we can effect it is to bring about a situation which will crush the spirit of militarism on which she has thriven. This fact is, at present, far from being brought home to her. There is no sign of repentance or remorse in the tone *in* which she is asking for peace to-day.¹ On the contrary, she is still glorying in the wicked things she has done and vaunting her power to perpetrate others still more hideous. "To these events on land," said Bethmann-Hollweg, in allusion to the exploits achieved by the German armies on the Continent, "heroic deeds of equal importance were added by our submarines"! His speech in the Reichstag concerning the peace proposals is the apotheosis of German violence and brutality, and in this spirit the recent Note to the Allies was presented. It is the same spirit in which, three years previously,² he said: "I assert, gentlemen, that the passionate aspiration of every Prussian is to protect against all attacks the Prussian army and its leadership by the Prussian King. We must prevent that army ever becoming after the English model, 'the army of Parliament,' or under any other than the control of the King of Prussia. The strength of this national army, and its position under kingly

¹ The Austrian Press recently declared that, if the Allies would not enter into peace negotiations, the Central Powers would carry on the war with a conscience as clear as that with which they began it!

² January 10, 1914.

leadership must be maintained against all assaults. We cannot take upon ourselves the responsibility of diminishing one iota of the Prusso-German military system, which has been, and is, and will be, the corner-stone of the strength both of the Kingdom of Prussia and the German Empire.”¹

It is the spirit in which their writers have argued:—“Germany has exercised her right of necessity, and has fulfilled a sacred duty towards herself and towards civilisation. Belgium is herself responsible for her fate. Every sin has its punishment on this earth; the crimes committed by States are avenged in this world. A heavy responsibility lies upon the Belgian statesmen. Only one excuse can be urged in their favour, namely, that they did not understand the great, noble and incomparable Germany”;² and in which the *Lokalanzeiger* has claimed that: “Belgium comes to us like a bit of game that we have brought down. It must be annexed to Germany. This is not for the pleasure of granting to that riff-raff the honour of belonging to the German Empire! But we must use Belgium as a closed fist under the nose of perfidious Albion”; and General von Dithfurt has written in *Der Tag*: “We do not have to render an account to the world of our responsibilities. We have *nothing* to justify, *nothing* to defend, *nothing* to excuse. All that our troops do in order to overcome the enemy, to bring victory to their banners, all is justifiable. We have not the slightest need to trouble about the judgment of foreigners, whether neutral or not, and if all the monuments which separate our armies from the enemy were reduced to dust . . . we should have time to deplore it when peace has been signed”; and a Catholic priest, a

¹“*It is not true* that the combat against our so-called militarism is not a combat against our civilisation . . . were it not for German militarism German civilisation would long since have been extirpated.” (An address “To the Civilised World,” by ninety-three representatives of German science and art.)

²*Not kennt kein Gebot* (“Necessity knows no Law”), by Josef Kohler, Professor of Law at the University of Berlin; quoted by the *Figaro*, September, 1915.

member of the Reichstag, has declared in the *Vossische Zeitung*: "It is true that our soldiers have shot down, in France and in Belgium, all the brigands—men, women, children—and that they have destroyed their dwellings. But whoever sees in that a contradiction of Christian teaching, proves that he has not the slightest comprehension of the true Spirit of Christ."

It was in the same spirit that their ancestors asked for peace of Cæsar nearly two thousand years ago. The story is so similar in all its details to the situation of to-day and so instructive that it is worth recounting. Ambassadors from two Gallic tribes, the Ædui and the Sequani, presented themselves to Cæsar to complain of the treatment they had received at the hands of Ariovistus (*i.e.* Heerfürst or *War-Lord*) and the armies with which he had invaded their country:—

"The same chiefs of the States who had previously come to Cæsar returned and asked if they might negotiate with him in secret concerning their own welfare and that of all the other States. The request being granted, they threw themselves, in tears, at Cæsar's feet, saying that they no less begged and beseeched that what they should say might not be made known than that they might obtain the object of their desires, because they foresaw that if their aims were known they would be exposed to the severest torture. Divitiacus, the Æduan, then became their spokesman. . . . He said that about 15,000 of them [the Germans] had at the beginning crossed the Rhine, and that after these wild barbarians had destroyed their lands and their cultivation and subdued the forces of the Gauls more of them had been brought over; that there were now in Gaul about 120,000 of them . . . but a greater disaster had befallen the victorious Sequani than the vanquished Ædui, for Ariovistus, the king of the Germans, had settled within their boundaries and had occupied a third part of their territory, which was the best in the whole of Gaul, and was now ordering them to remove themselves from the remaining third part. . . . The result would be that, in a few years' time, they would all be driven from

the land of Gaul, and the whole of the Germans would cross the Rhine; for the land of Gaul is not to be compared with that of Germany, nor must the manner of living of the latter be put on the same level with that of the former. As soon as Ariovistus had defeated the Gauls in battle, he began to rule over them in a haughty, cruel manner, demanding from them as hostages the noblest children of each State, and subjecting them to all sorts of tortures if everything was not done at his nod and pleasure; that the man was a savage and passionate barbarian, and it was impossible to endure his tyranny any longer. . . . Ariovistus [being questioned by Cæsar] replied; that no one had ever entered the lists with him without bringing about his own perdition; that Cæsar might engage in battle with him whenever he chose; he would then realise what deeds invincible Germans, who were better trained than all others in arms, and who had not been under a roof for fifteen years, could perform by their valour. . . . He [Ariovistus] expatiated largely on his own virtues . . . [and said that] if Cæsar would retire and leave to him free possession of Gaul he would remunerate him handsomely. When it became known among the ranks with what arrogance Ariovistus had spoken at the conference, that he had ordered the Romans to leave the whole of Gaul, and that his cavalry had made an assault upon our men, and that this circumstance had interrupted the parley, the Roman army became imbued with greater alacrity and eagerness for battle. . . . Ambassadors came from them [the Germans] speaking as follows: 'The Germans,' they said, 'were not the first to make war upon the Roman people. . . . If the Romans wished for their friendship, they might be useful allies to them; let them either assign lands to them or permit them to keep those which they had won by their arms; they acknowledged the superiority of no one but the Suevi, to whom the immortal gods could not pretend to be equal; that there was no one else on earth whom they could not conquer. To these remarks Cæsar replied in such words as he thought fit, but the gist of his speech was that there could be no friendship possible between him and them as long as they

remained in Gaul. But the enemy, as soon as they had descried our cavalry, the number of which was 5000 . . . while our men entertained no apprehensions, seeing that their ambassadors had quitted Cæsar's presence only a short time before, and that day had been granted to them, at their request, as a period of truce, made a sudden attack and threw our men into disorder. . . . After this engagement Cæsar was convinced that ambassadors should no longer be received in audience or conditions accepted from men who, after having sued for peace, by way of stratagem and treachery, renewed hostilities without provocation; and to wait until the enemy's forces had been augmented, would, he considered, be sheer madness."¹ And it would be sheer madness to-day.

We may take warning also from Strabo's denunciation of their treachery. "The hostilities were begun by the Sugambri, who live on the banks of the Rhine. . . . One after another of the tribes obtained the upper hand over the Romans, and were in turn subdued only to rise again without regard to the hostages they had delivered or the faith they had pledged. By far the best course is to hold them in distrust, as those who have been trusted by the Romans have done the greatest mischief, as witness the Cherusci and those who are subject to their rule. It was they who ambushed and destroyed three Roman legions with their general, Varus Quintilius, in defiance of treaties."² What they did in the days of Cæsar and of Strabo they have done, as we have seen, in the Middle Ages and more recent times, and they will do it again in the future.

But in all cases there is danger in the conclusion of peace when the aggressor is only half-conquered. In 1802 we made a premature peace with Napoleon, to satisfy the pacifists of that day—the Peace of Amiens—his armies being then on the verge of exhaustion. Only three and a half years later we were battling anew for the freedom of Europe against those same armies.

¹ Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, i. 31, 36, 44, 46; iv. 7, 8, 12, 13.

² Strabo, *Geography*, vii. 1.

Germany will make no halting peace with us if ever she can dictate the terms. She will see to it that the British Empire shall never rise again.

"There are people," writes the *Matin*,¹ "who imagine that it will be wiser to accept as early a peace as possible, and allow the German nation to recover from its 'passing folly.' There cannot be a more dangerous illusion than this. It is not true that the German people are suffering from a 'passing folly.' They are literally subdued and hypnotised by the race of the Hohenzollerns, who have persuaded them that they owe everything to them—their wealth, their organisation, and their existence as a nation. . . . If Germany remains intact after the war, she will immediately begin, all over again, the economic struggle which she had so carefully organised; while, from a military point of view, the danger will be greater than ever. The effects of over-population will be felt more acutely ten years hence than they are now, and we may be sure that war material will be collected and stored up in proportion to the increase of the population. . . . Germany only half conquered will be bent on revenge. If nothing better is achieved than a halting or patched-up peace, Europe will be exposed for the next fifty years at least to a new series of wars; and heaven knows what, in this case, will be the end of our civilisation."

The *North American* has the same conviction: "Peace now would be a mockery. The sovereignty of force would be exalted. Militarism would emerge triumphant, and bring under its iron sway the peoples of all nations. The sacrifice of a million lives would have been vain, and this war would be but the overture to a future struggle more bloody, more destructive, and more cruel.

"Until the brazen idol of militarism is overthrown and broken in pieces there will be no rest for the races of men. And that can be accomplished only by compulsion achieved through a decisive result."²

¹ July 7, 1915.

² February 5, 1915; quoted in *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, p. 494.

Already, for more than a year, the Germans have been employing all manner of devices to bring the neutrals to their aid. Their efforts in this direction have become more and more strenuous, and their devices more cunning in proportion as their embarrassments have increased.

"Foreseeing the failure of their plot," wrote the *Matin*, "our enemies are seeking again to persuade the neutrals that the Allies, and England in particular, are alone opposed to peace and responsible for the prolongation of the horrors of war. But let us not be deceived by diplomatic intrigues and cunning propaganda. For a year now this same Germany . . . regardless of honour and of the dictates of humanity, and in defiance of the engagements into which she entered . . . has bombarded cathedrals, poisoned our soldiers with gases, plundered private houses, and broken into safes! She has laid everything waste, pillaged, massacred, burnt and outraged. For a year this miserable Kaiser and his savage people have let loose their loathsome hordes on Belgium and France. And now that the plot, laid bare before the eyes of the world, has miscarried; now that, thanks to the patriotism of the Belgians and the heroism of those who fought on the Marne, the tide has turned; now that the indefatigable tenacity of the Russians has blocked the road to victory, and the daily increasing determination of England is bringing unexpected armies to the help of France, already victorious, the Royal Bandit begins to reflect and repent."¹ . . .

In order to impress the neutrals, our enemies are now raising the cry that they are fighting for the liberty of the nations and in defence of democracy at home—but a democracy under a Kaiser who has said: "It was in this spot that my grandfather, in his own right placed the Royal Crown of Prussia upon his head, insisting once again that it was bestowed upon him by the grace of God alone, and not by parliaments and meetings and decisions of the people. He thus regarded himself as the chosen instrument of Heaven, and as such carried out his duties as a ruler and lord. I consider myself such an instrument of Heaven,

¹ August, 1915, in an article entitled *Trop tôt*.

and shall go on my way without regard to the views and opinions of the day"¹; while his brother declared that he was actuated by one single motive: "A desire to proclaim to the nations the gospel of Your Majesty's sacred person, and to preach that gospel alike to those who will listen and those who will not."

Let them establish a true democracy, and give the promised freedom to the people they oppress. We may then consider terms of peace. Meanwhile, we may remind ourselves of the warning words which a Roman General addressed to the Gauls of old: "The same motives that first induced the Germans to cross the Rhine will ever subsist; ambition, avarice, and the love of new settlements will be perpetual incentives to them. . . . On your own soil they wish to lord it over you. They come to ravage your lands, and liberty is the pretence."²

"We shall have lost this war," as Mr. Bonar Law has said, "unless we make it certain that never again shall it be in the power of one man, or group of men, to turn the world into the charnel-house which exists to-day."³

Our Allies are at one with us in this. Their statesmen have made it clear to the world. Signor Bissolati, Vice-President of the Boselli Cabinet, who was known for years as an uncompromising socialist and pacifist, has spoken as follows: "The peace to which the whole world aspires after so many horrors and sacrifices must be a real and lasting peace and not a mere truce. Civilisation must be safeguarded against attempts similar to the one against which it is now reacting. . . . I therefore think that any State or States of the Entente which to-day harboured thoughts of peace would be guilty of an act of treason."⁴

When M. Deschanel said, in the French Senate, "that the blood of our martyrs would cry out against us if we did not complete their work," the whole audience rose to

¹ Königsberg, 1910; quoted in *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, p. 141.

² Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 73.

³ October 12, 1916.

⁴ Quoted by *The New Europe*, October, 1916.

its feet, shouting "Vive la France! Vive la République!" The scene was repeated when he spoke of the faithfulness of the Allies of France, and declared that France, relying on them, would never yield either to the insolent threats or the treacherous proposals of the enemy. "As if the Allies," said General Joffre, in an address to his troops, "who have sworn to continue the struggle to the death, would think of violating the oath at the moment when the hour of Germany's retribution is about to strike." Our own men at the Front tell us that the glorious troops of France are fighting as men fight in a Holy War.

How can any thinking men fail to be at heart in sympathy with our cause when they realise the issues at stake: "absolutism and militarism on the one hand, liberty and representative government on the other"; when they see "Live and let live" inscribed on our banner and "Deutschland über Alles" and—what is worse—"Deutschtum über Alles" on that of our enemy; when they see what nations are ranged with Germany against us—Austria, trampling on the nationalities subject to her sway, and torn by internal dissensions, and Turkey! What can humanity hope for from their ascendancy? "The great philosophical anarchists of Paris and Petrograd stretch out their hands across the battle-field to the religious believers in Delhi and Tibet.¹ The opposite ends of the earth are agreed in one thing at least—that they will not suffer a State-machine to over-ride the human spirit, or a bastard 'efficiency' to strangle the beauty and variety of human life."²

The Holland Section of the "League of Neutral States" has appealed to the people of America, with special reference to the deportation and enslavement of Germany's

¹ At the outbreak of the war the Grand Lama of Tibet offered to place a force of 1000 men at the disposal of the Indian Government and declared that he was praying for the success of British arms.

² John Cowper Powys, *The War and Culture*, p. 78.

The savages of East Africa and New Guinea are imploring us not to let them be again subjected to the horrors of the German yoke.

new victims, to join with the other neutrals in arresting "the hellish scourge which at this moment lacerates the whole of the North of France and Western Russia." In another appeal, signed by a hundred and fifty well known men in Holland, the writers call upon the neutrals, who are in the full enjoyment of their liberty, to put themselves in the place of Belgium. "Think," they say, "what it means to be subjugated by a foreign master . . . and to know that, if you resist him, you will lose your independence for ever. . . ."

"The Entente Powers declared, on the 14th of February, 1916, that they will accept no peace by which the political and economic independence of Belgium is not wholly restored. That is their reply to the German demands. The neutrals also must reply. . . ."

"It seems to us necessary that this principle should be affirmed *without delay* by a formal demand of all the neutral nations, since those who meditate an attack against a weak neighbour, will hesitate to carry out their intentions if they know that such an aggression will not remain unpunished. . . . The world has at its disposal the means of coercion, if not military, at least moral and economic; and the opinion of the world can, at the present moment, be manifested only by action on the part of the neutrals. They have the right, and it is their duty and within their power to insist that they shall decide where the highest interests of humanity are at stake."

"This terrible war," said Mr. Castberg, President of the Norwegian Lower House, "with its broken treaties, its violation of international law, its atrocities and its devastations on land and sea, has rendered the peace movement hopeless in the eyes of many. War threatens to create a hatred that will be of greater intensity after this war than after any other. A persistent and protracted economic and intellectual struggle will ensue between the nations, which will demolish the remains of the basis of the peace movement."

"And yet not only did England and Russia before the war call for arbitration to prevent the war, but this war is

in itself, a more powerful protest of nations against war than any other previous war has been. It will never be forgotten that it was a flagrant breach of a treaty, an outrageous violation of a small nation's neutrality, that, in a moment, roused public opinion in the British Empire to such a degree that nothing could restrain it. It will never be forgotten that, with this in view, Great Britain inscribed on her banner the inviolability of treaties and the right of the small nations to liberty and independence after the war. Over and over again this has been repeated by England's leading statesmen. We have before us now the fact, hitherto unknown in history, that the democracy (and first and foremost the working men) of a country that is the cradle of liberty in Europe, has voluntarily raised an army of millions fighting on the plains of France and Flanders, and millions of women working to release the men for fighting. But all this has only been feasible because democracy in that powerful Empire is filled with the belief that this is a struggle which, in the end, will crush the policy of might, of war, and of militarism. The free people of France and England, who formerly saved the liberty of the world, feel in the very depths of their souls that it is they who are at the head of a crusade for justice, liberty, and peace. And therefore they are willing to pay such heavy sacrifices and to endure."¹

As to American opinion: "The world cannot, will not, let Germany win this war," wrote the *New York Times*.² "With her dominating all Europe, peace and security would vanish from the earth. A few months ago the world only dimly comprehended Germany; now it knows her thoroughly. . . . For their own peace and safety, the nations must demolish that towering structure of militarism in the centre of Europe that has become the world's danger-spot, its greatest menace."

And recently the *New York Tribune* has expressed itself more at length in similar terms:—

¹ Speech at the Scandinavian Parliamentary Conference at Stockholm, quoted in *Dagbladet*, September 2, 1916.

² December 15, 1914.

"We have no interest in the question of frontiers: we have no stake or concern in the matter of the possession of Constantinople or the partition of Asia Minor. We are as little concerned with some of the incidental issues of the Great War as was Europe with some phases of the Civil War. But we are interested in the preservation of humanity, of civilisation, and of law from the assault which the Germans have made upon them and the menace which the survival of the German idea would have for them. . . .

"The German method and the German ideal are old. Frederick the Great did in Silesia what William II is doing in Belgium. At the end of the war he kept Silesia, and thus encouraged his successors to new acts of equal immorality. For nearly two centuries the German idea, first Prussian, has marched from one idea to another to accomplish the purpose of all Germans—the domination of Europe and the mastery of the world.

"When the German people have resumed the control of their own government, when the German people have renounced the policies and the purposes of their rulers, then peace may come without the despoliation of Germany as peace came to France in Napoleon's time and left the France of the Ancien Régime undisturbed. But if Germany can remain as she is, if the German rulers can bring back from this last terrible war of conquest a new Silesia, a new Alsace-Lorraine, a new Schleswig, then we shall have new wars until the time when at last the German idea is crushed in the blood and slime of a final defeat.

"All that civilisation means remains at stake. Nothing has as yet been decided as to the momentous question raised by Germany in the first week of August, 1914, when she sent the vanguard of hosts into Belgium, to burn, to slay, to ruin a nation, because it stood between Germany and a purpose and dared to defend its honour and its independence. Those who fired Louvain and sank the *Lusitania* rule Germany: they remain faithful to the spirit of these crimes, and while this condition endures, peace is

impossible for long and peace now would be a crime against posterity. . . .

"This war was born of German determination to crush all that came between Germany and world domination. It was provoked after long preparation, it was prosecuted with fiendish brutality, which endures to the present moment, and with each succeeding month gives new proof of German spirit and German methods. It can only end when this German spirit is exorcised, whether it ends at the Rhine or the Spree, whether in 1917 or 1927. It can end only in one way, because to believe that it could end save in German defeat would be to believe that we were witnessing the end of all that makes for sweetness and light, for human happiness and human aspiration in this world."

Dr. Charles Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, has spoken as follows: "With Germany might made right. She made a violent attack on the weaker, because it was the shortest, the easiest way. What a blow this was to our idea of mercy, to our conception of the progress of man from a barbarian to a civilised, fair, merciful being! We had hoped that the methods of war were capable of amelioration, but this war has blown all those hopes to the winds.

"All our hopes were shattered by Germany's action. All our American ideas of the right to life, liberty, property, happiness, were nullified by this nation, which is led by a ruler who has an archaic idea of his powers and of his relation to the world. Germany has shown us that in the most advanced nation, as far as science is concerned, there is no place for mercy, no place for goodwill and that hatred takes the place of good motives.

"We must bear in mind the deep obligations which this nation is under to England and France, so deep that it is vain to expect us to be in our hearts neutral. Can we think of giving no aid to France if she comes to the end of her resources; to England if she should be reduced to like straits?

"But let us not confuse our minds by failing to see whither the German policy tends. Let us not dream of

abandoning our faith that human relations shall be determined by considerations of justice, mercy, love and goodwill. We must help the Allies if our assistance is requested." ¹

"The side," says Mr. William White, "which regards war as a 'biological necessity,' which glorifies Might as superior to Right, which first flouts and disregards treaties and conventions, and then tries falsely to explain them away; the side which, in spite of—or largely because of—the tragic befoolment of millions of plain, worthy, simple-minded people, represents essentially a mediæval, warlike aristocracy—that side can never hope to have the sympathy, support, or co-operation of the American people. A peace that would establish as the practical ruler of the world a Power whose avowed intent is to be such a ruler, and to force upon its fellow-nations its own perverted standards of *Kultur*, of civilisation, of national and international morals, ought to be—and, I believe, would be—intolerable to this country.

"Therefore the only sort of peace which would seem desirable to America is a peace which shall ensure the dominance and continuous spread of the ideals for which the Allies are fighting." ²

The American "Committee of Rights" passed a resolution in March, 1916, to the effect that: "The safety and honour of the American people and their duty to defend and maintain the rights of humanity require us to approve the cause for which the Entente Allies are fighting, and to extend to these Allies by any means in our power, not only sympathy but direct co-operation at the proper time, to the end that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth." . . .

In an Address to the People of the Allied Nations, signed by five hundred of America's men of letters, the writers say: "The time has come—if indeed it has not long since passed—when Americans owe it to themselves to express

¹ Address on "America's Duty in Relation to the European War," quoted in *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, p. 343.

² *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, pp. 483-4.

more publicly and more formally their sympathies and their judgment. Even as we have always held ourselves, as a nation, free to express openly our sympathies for peoples struggling for their liberties, so now we have the duty of at least making clear our solidarity of sentiment with those who are struggling to preserve the liberties of the world and the highest ideals of civilisation.

"The main facts in the controversy have long been before us. The case of the Teutonic allies, especially, has not lacked fullness of statement. The ablest German publicists and professors have presented the Austro-German contentions with great eloquence. Numerous German documents have been widely circulated, and an active, and sometimes insidious, German propaganda has been extensively carried on in the United States.

"The American judgment has been deliberately formed, and it is based very largely on a study of German documents and of German statements as to the points at issue.

"The signers of this document are not unmindful of the great contributions which Germany has in the past made to the common treasure of modern civilisation; all of us acknowledge our debt to Germany; many of us have the advantage of German education; some of us are of German blood. But the welfare of that civilisation for which Germany has done so much, the highest interests of Germany herself, demand that in this conflict Germany and Austria shall be defeated. We confidently and hopefully look forward to that result. . . .

"It is because we believe that the success of Great Britain, France, Italy and Russia will mean the restoration of Belgium and of Servia, and the suppression of militarism, that we ardently hope for that consummation. In that hope we believe the future of civilisation to be involved."

"Solemn treaties," says Professor Hale, "made 'between the United States and other Powers,' including Germany, have been broken by her. The breaking of a treaty is always a sufficient reason for a declaration of war if the offended party desires. We had a sufficient reason on the day on which the text of the German ultimatum to Bel-

gium was published even if we were doubtful about the ridiculous reason given. Germany's announcement that, if Belgium resisted the violation of her territory, Germany would regard her resistance as a hostile act, and treat the relations of the two countries hereafter according to the arbitrament of war, was enough. When precious historical monuments, which are in a very true sense the property of all mankind, began to be destroyed or to be gravely injured there was again enough. When an unfortified and undefended town was three times bombarded there was again enough. When the peaceful vessels of neutrals, as well as vessels of war, began to be blown up by floating mines there was once more enough. And even if we did not make war, it was our duty at the very least to address a temperate protest to Germany. We did not protest. The love of fair play is inherent in the Anglo-Saxon race, as well as in most others. Even a crowd at a prize-fight or a game will not tolerate repeated and deliberate foul play and wait to the end in the hope of adjudication. It will promptly drag the offending party out of the ring. But we do nothing."¹

¹ Prof. William Gardner Hale, of Chicago, in the *New York Tribune* of November 10, 1914; quoted in *A Textbook of the War for Americans*, p. 347.

With reference to the indifference of the neutrals, the *Temps*, in its issue of 23rd September, 1915, writes: "The conventions of the Hague and the decisions of numerous conferences are outrageously violated by the brutal German invaders, while Governments, which proclaimed with us the sanctity of international obligations, remain unmoved. The Central Empires have rendered of no effect the signatures of their co-contractors; their cruelties have surpassed the limits of the horrors of war, and their undisguised lust for conquest and domination threatens the nations. Their allies, the Turks, are massacring the Greeks and exterminating the Armenians, dividing their women amongst them and selling their children into slavery: and we are still waiting for the neutrals to protest against their monstrous crimes!

"Serbia, Belgium, France, England and Russia have been struggling for fourteen months against the aggressors, and Italy has voluntarily joined them. It is to these Powers alone that the world leaves the task of protecting it against the most serious peril which has ever menaced it."

Nothing, that is, as a nation. But there are many from neutral countries, and amongst them, Americans, fighting in our ranks. What can give better testimony to the purity of our cause than that letter, written by a young American, to his "folks at home," a few days before he was struck down by a German bullet? ¹

"I am now no longer untried," he said. "Two weeks' action in a great battle is to my credit, and if my faith in the wisdom of my course or my enthusiasm for the cause had been due to fail, it would have done so during that time. But it has only become stronger; I find myself a soldier among millions of others in the great Allied armies, fighting for all I believe right and civilised and humane against a power which is evil and which threatens the existence of all the right we prize and the freedom we enjoy.

"It may seem to you that for me this is all quite uncalled for, that it can only mean either the supreme sacrifice for nothing, or at best some of the best years of my life wasted; but I tell you that not only am I willing to give my life to this enterprise (for that is comparatively easy, except when I think of you), but that I firmly believe—if I live through it to spend a useful lifetime with you—that never will I have an opportunity to gain so much honourable advancement for my own soul, or to do so much for the cause of the world's progress, as I have here daily defending the liberty that mankind has so far gained against the attack of an enemy who would deprive us of it and set the world back some centuries if he could have his way.

"I think less of myself than I did, less of the heights of personal success I aspired to climb, and more of the service that each of us must render in payment for the right to live and by virtue of which only we can progress.

"Yes, my dearest folks, we are indeed doing the world's work over here, and I am in it to the finish." ²

¹ Lieut. Harry Butters, a citizen of California.

² Quoted in the Press of September 9, 1916.

And when he fell his captain wrote of him:—

"He was with his guns, and no one could have died in a nobler way. . . . He was one of the brightest, cheeriest boys I have ever known, and always the life and soul of the mess. . . . We all realised his nobility in coming to the help of another country entirely of his own free will, and understood what a big heart he had. He was loved by all."

And there is the tribute of the Dominions and of India who, Germany thought, would throw off their allegiance at the beginning of the war. As M. Pierre Hamp¹ observes: . . . "The active solidarity of the British colonies, the loyalty to the Empire of millions of men scattered over the whole circumference of the earth, furnish a rare instance of an ardent patriotism even in countries whose frontiers are not exposed to invasion from without. This bond, established without the employment of any force, between diverse races, is England's great moral victory in this war, an achievement whereby she gives evidence to the world of the noble manner in which she directs the destinies of men. Without constraint she leads them by millions to the sacrifice." . . .

"There are in India," writes Mr. F. W. Whitridge,² "two hundred and seventy million people governed by less than eight hundred white men with an insignificant army. Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and the islands all over the globe are bound to Great Britain by little more than a flag and a language, and yet they have begun to pour forth money and men to fight against the extension of German *Kultur*, and promise as much and as many more as are necessary to prevent a final German victory."

We shall have behaved with infamous treachery towards these men if, after accepting their sacrifices, we conclude a peace which will make it possible that those sacrifices shall have been made in vain.

"There must be reparation for the past," said Mr. Bonar Law, "and security for the future." Reparation in the full sense there can never be, but there can be punishment for

¹ In the *Figaro*, November 28, 1915.

² *One American's Opinion of the European War*, p. 14.

the crime committed. "Is he going to make good the desolated homes, the losses of the widows and the fatherless, the sack, rapine and ruin that the brutal bully has brought upon an inoffensive people in order that he may trample his way to world power? How will he make good the unbridled licence of the German soldier, including the outrage of women, which General von Boehn, according to his American interviewer, Mr. Powell, of the *New York World*, cynically endorsed as 'the soldier's reward'?"¹

No one demands that the aggressor shall be brought to trial in more strenuous words than the German Hermann Fernau in his book, *Gerade weil ich Deutscher bin*² :—

"Only after the resolute prosecution of this trial," he says, "shall we have a Europe capable of organising such a condition of public peace as accords with human reason. Any one who strives to establish such a condition without having first demanded the punishment of the criminal—any one who is capable of appealing for assistance in the reorganisation of Europe to those who have hitherto declined to share the responsibility for war with their people—is setting a wolf to mind the sheep and constituting himself the protector of the war-fury.

"In the name of the millions who have already fallen in this gigantic war, in the name of the millions perchance yet to fall, in the name of the public peace and security of Europe, in the name of the culture and civilisation of our earth, in the name of the inviolable, unwritten and eternal right of the nations, I demand this trial and this punishment, and I demand them

"JUST BECAUSE I AM A GERMAN."

In an interview which he gave to the correspondent of the *Matin* at Bâle in April, 1916, the same writer spoke as follows:—

"For the present the Government has been able by means of various devices, and with the help of a servile Press, to deceive the people, and make them believe that Ger-

¹ *Germany's Designs on South Africa*, p. 84.

² English translation, *Because I am a German*, pp. 153-4.

many, peace-loving Germany, was treacherously attacked by her enemies, who were jealous of her; but there are persons in the country whose minds have lately begun to be enlightened.

"The Government which has only been able to maintain its credit on the strength of successful military operations which it has skilfully exploited—this Government will fall to pieces when, as the result of an important military reverse, the last illusions of those who still believe in the final triumph of our arms have vanished.

"I do not go so far as to say that we shall then have a bloody revolution, but I am certain that when the German people awake from the state of lethargy in which the manœuvres of a special military caste have plunged them, their relentlessness will be in proportion to their disillusion.

"As to the violation of Belgium, I condemn it, firstly, as a German; and secondly, in the name of the treaties and conventions which guaranteed the neutrality of that country. I condemn at the same time the pretext invoked by the German Government that the war was a defensive war. In the first place this assertion rests on no true basis. *Germany was threatened by no one*, and in the second place the fact that you suspect your neighbour of intending to steal does not authorise you to knock him down and rob him of his watch.

"Happily we may say from to-day that Prussian militarism is overcome; it is clear that sooner or later Germany must yield to the superior power of her adversaries, to the economic difficulties which beset her.

"England has never yet been known to yield. She fought against Napoleon for fifteen years, and Napoleon was certainly as formidable as those who are to-day at the head of the Prussian military caste.

"For my country's interest, I ardently hope that the Allies will speedily win the victory, and that an end will be made once and for all of the uniformed coteries, the wearers of long sabres, the enemies of progress and of real civilisation.

"In its interest I hope that the restoration of peace and the establishment of a republic will permit the German

people, delivered at last from the oppressor, to accomplish useful and peaceful work.

"If Germany should, contrary to all expectations, emerge victorious from this terrible conflagration, liberalism and the power of nations to dispose freely of their destinies would be for ever denied them. There would, in one word, be an end to right and justice and a return to primitive barbarism.

"The war must make a clean sweep of everything which might serve in the future to encourage a return to the attack. For this reason the peace for which the Allied armies are fighting must be a peace which will give an aspect to the map of Europe altogether different from that which it had before the war.

"The treaty which will regard the condition of future peace must have its basis in respect of the rights of the small nations to exist—the Serbs, Czechs, Roumanians, Ruthenians, Poles and others, not forgetting the valiant little Belgium, who must be reinstated in her territorial and constitutional rights with a heavy indemnity."

Security for the future must be of a twofold nature. It is not enough that it should be made physically impossible for Germany to repeat her attack upon the freedom of the nations; such retribution must be meted out to those who are proved to be directly responsible for the crime as will deter others from following in their footsteps. Their treachery has already found imitators in Greece, whose rulers have set at naught the sanctity of treaties with the same callousness as the German Chancellor himself. Others, as we have seen, have shown themselves apt pupils of Germany in their disregard of the rules of war.

The day may be yet distant when justice will be done, though, in the opinion of many, it is near at hand. An American journalist, Mr. Frank H. Simmonds, prophesied that: "As the third year of the war opens not more than 4,000,000 Austro-Germans, the last line, will confront 6,000,000 Russians, British, and French, helped by some

hundreds of thousands of Slavs and Belgians, behind whom will stand Russian and British reserves of at least 4,000,000. This means, with every discount for the roughness of the estimate, that some time in the third year, while Russia and Britain are still able to keep their armies at their present point, Austro-German forces will begin to decline rapidly and a tremendous advantage of numbers will belong to the enemies of Germany.”¹

Of greater weight is the testimony of an eminent Frankfurt banker, who, in an interview at Amsterdam with the special correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*, made the following statement:—

“We shall never conquer our enemies. We were deceived as to the attitude of Italy and Roumania as much as we were in regard to England and Belgium. We were formidably deceived as to the strength of resistance and the moral unity of France, and deceived as to the attitude of neutrals, especially the United States, who to-day hate Germany more than any enemy country does. All our Foreign Ministers, all our Ambassadors, have lied to us.

“Fortunately we had a good army. It has spared us many miseries, and without it we should have been finished. As it is, we are too ill to recover, for where shall we get money? That is the insoluble question for Germany. Tomorrow she will be ruined financially.

“We should know, in the first place, whether the Allies are disposed to converse. If they are we should be disposed to join a conference at an early date at the Hague, under the auspices of Queen Wilhelmina. Germany is ready to make sacrifices, because she sees that unless she humiliates herself nothing will happen. If, on the other hand, the Allies are not disposed to converse, an internal revolution will be the result, for the German people have had enough.

“That is the whole secret of the situation. The Kaiser, in spite of his divine right, must reckon with his people. For thirty months he has let butchery loose, and this is the end of it all. This war has caused us to advance a

¹ *The Review of Reviews*, February, 1915.

century in two years, and that is the only benefit we shall derive from it."

Decidedly optimistic in tone is a report by Sir Douglas Haig—and what better assurance can we have? "The enemy's power," he says, "has not yet been broken, nor is it yet possible to form an estimate of the time the war may last before the objects for which the Allies are fighting have been attained.

"But the Somme battle has placed beyond doubt the ability of the Allies to gain those objects.

"The German army is the mainstay of the Central Powers, and a full half of that army, despite all the advantages of the defensive, supported by the strongest fortifications, suffered defeat on the Somme this year."

The submarine menace, too, will be overcome. But there is stern work yet before us. Let us nerve ourselves to face it for the sake of those who will come after, though our resources have to be strained to the utmost. There are few of us to whom this war has not brought distress in one form or another. To very many of us it has brought days of bitter agony; but we must march on with dry eyes to the completion of our task. "For the present, we must think of the past," as General Joffre said to his troops, "only that we may gather assurance for the future and remember the dead only that we may avenge them"—or at least bring it about that they shall not have died in vain.

"This is no time for tears—no time to mourn,
No time for sombre draperies of woe.
Let the aggressors weep, for they have sinned
The sin of Satan—lust of power and pride—
Mean envy of their neighbours' weal—a plot
Hatched amidst glozing smiles and prate of peace,
Through the false years—until the Day—the Day
When all this kneeling at the Devil's feet
Should win the world—ay, let them weep.

But we
With eyes undimmed march on—our mourning robes
Bejewelled by the deeds of those that die,
Lustre on lustre—till no sable patch
Peeps through their brilliance.

In the years to come,
 When we have done our work, and God's own peace,
 The peace of Justice, Mercy, Righteousness,
 Like the still radiance of a summer's dawn,
 With tranquil glory floods a troubled world—
 That is the time for tears—
 Drawn from a well of love deep down—deep down,
 Deep as the mystery of immortal souls—
 That is the time for tears—not now—not now!"¹

It has been said that this is a war to end war. If this aim is reached, good will ensue commensurate even with the blackness of Germany's crime.

¹ From a poem entitled "Aftermath," published in *The Times*, in November, 1914.

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